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Prefatory Note

The New Haven Colony Historical Society has published nine volumes of its papers: Vol. I, in 1865; Vol. II, in 1877; Vol. III, in 1882; Vol. IV, in 1888; Vol. V, in 1894; Vol. VI, in 1900; Vol. VII, in 1908; Vol. VIII, in 1914; and Vol. IX, in 1918.

The Society does not consider itself committed to the support of the positions taken in any of the papers thus published. For the statements or conclusions of each, the author is alone responsible.

Among the Society's possessions is the valuable collection of Ingersoll Papers, which Bishop Lines obtained for us when he was its President. Included in this volume are the more important Letters of that collection, which have been carefully selected and annotated by Prof. Franklin B. Dexter. The Publication Committee takes this opportunity to express its grateful appreciation to Mr. Dexter for his generous help, and for the skilful editing which no one else is so well equipped to furnish.

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THE HARTFORD CONVENTION

By SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.

[Read December 21, 1914.]

Hartford has been the seat of three Conventions of States. The first was held in 1779; the second in 1780. Each was attended by five States, New York and all New England.* The third, in which three States (all of New England except New Hampshire and Vermont) officially participated, was that the centenary of which we meet to celebrate.

Of gatherings of this general character there had been eleven between the Declaration of Independence and the Philadelphia Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. During that stage in our history each State was an independent sovereign. Each was, nevertheless, a member of a combination of States, at first described as Continental, and after March first, 1781, taking the shape of a Confederation under a written Constitution. Was it, under these circumstances, a right of any number of States less than the whole to meet in convention for either discussion or action on public affairs of common interest?

In January, 1781, while the union remained undescribed in written form, Philip Schuyler moved in the Senate of New York to request the Eastern States to join in a convention, which should form a perpetual league of incorporation. "He would make this league, however," subject to the common interest of all the States, "and invite others to accede to it."†

Nothing came of this, but two years later, in February, 1783, the General Court of Massachusetts voted to invite the other New England States and New York to meet in convention for regulating matters of common concern. On the first of March

* See New Haven Colony Hist. Soc. Papers, III, 37.

† Bancroft, History of the Constitution, I. 29.

New Hampshire declined to take part in this movement, and in New York there was similar action a few days later.*

On the first day of April this matter occasioned some discussion in the Continental Congress. Mercer of Virginia observed that to hold such a convention would constitute a dangerous precedent. Colonel Bland of Virginia said that he had always considered "young Congresses" of this character as improper, and contravening the spirit of the Federal government. Madison and Hamilton, as stated in the diary of the former, "disapproved of these partial conventions, not as absolute violations of the Confederacy, but as ultimately leading to them and, in the meantime, exciting pernicious jealousies."†

But one of the ten gatherings of States held prior to that of 1786 at Annapolis has any really remembered place in American history. The only one held since the adoption of the Federal Constitution has such a place, and that secured it not for what it did, but for what it was feared it might do.

The Hartford Convention of 1814 was unquestionably a body of men who might, without much difficulty, have been led to take a position beyond the verge of patriotic duty. Happily its leaders were men of too sound judgment to urge or to admit action of such a kind. They shared the thought of the day, among the Federalists of the Hamiltonian School, as to the doctrine of States' Rights. But they had also a sincere attachment to the United States, and fully recognized it as in some matters supreme.

Among the rights reserved to the States, however, they considered, as included, that of meeting for consultation. It had been frequently claimed and exercised before the adoption of the Constitution. It was not prohibited by it. Therefore, they reasoned, it was reserved.

Harrison Gray Otis took this position in his "Letters in Defence of the Hartford Convention, and the People of Massachusetts," published in 1824.‡

* Journals of the Legislature, March 8, 10, 11.

† Elliott's Debates, V, 81.

‡ p. 28.

"There can be," he observed, "no limitation, but its own discretion, to the right of each of the United States *to consult* with any other State, upon subjects of joint interest, and upon the nature and extent and the mode of performing its duties to the Union, as also upon the means of causing those due to itself to be respected. It may be very inexpedient to exercise this right upon light occasions, but of this the State must of necessity be exclusively the judge."

It will be observed that it was only a convention for consultation that was thus defended. The formation by a convention of certain States of a political confederation would be in violation of Art. I, Sec. 10, of the Constitution of the United States, and it was so decided by the courts, with reference to the so-called Confederate States of America.* For calling such a convention to concert opposition to unconstitutional measures of the government of the United States, some claimed that authority might be found in the writings of Madison in Number XLVI of the *Federalist*. He had said of such measures that if the sentiments of several adjoining States happened to be in unison in opposing them, they could hardly be enforced, and added :

"But ambitious encroachments of the federal government on the authority of the State would not excite the opposition of a single State, or of a few States only. They would be signals of general alarm. Every government would espouse the common cause. A correspondence would be opened. Plans of resistance would be concerted. One spirit would animate and conduct the whole."

This, at most, seems to me to look only to individual action on the part of the opposing States.

When Massachusetts initiated the Hartford Convention, she was smarting under conditions of trade, or conditions against trade, which were highly inimical to her interests. She had, in 1808, a third of the tonnage of the United States. The legislation of Congress had made it almost valueless. She was receiv-

* Williams v. Bruffy, 96 U. S., 176.

ing little assistance from the military forces of the United States.

She had no sympathy with the policy which brought on the War of 1812. Early in 1813 a congratulatory resolution was introduced in her legislature, with reference to the recent sinking of the British sloop-of-war *Peacock* off the Demerara river by the *Hornet*, under command of Lawrence.

The Senate threw it out, on the report of a committee headed by Josiah Quincy, with these words:

“Resolved, as the sense of the Senate of Massachusetts, that in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause, and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits, which are not immediately connected with the defence of our sea-coast and soil.”

The defence of the coast and soil of New England by the forces of the United States, which had been feeble up to the time when this report was made, became still feebler during the following year.

The governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut had refused, at the beginning of the war, to comply with the request of the United States to put a part of their organized militia into service under the command of officers in the regular army. The reasons for this refusal, which they set forth, were that the Constitution of the United States secured to each State the right to officer its own militia: that the federal government could only call for their services when needed to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; and that, at present, there was no such need, as the President had only informed them that there was imminent “danger” of invasion. These States, therefore, while they made the formal “detachment” of as many of their militia as was requested under the Act of Congress of April 12, 1812, refused to put them under the command of officers of the regular army.

Governor Griswold’s action in this direction was unreservedly approved by the General Assembly. A committee

appointed to consider it at a special session held on August 25th, 1812, used this language in their report:*

"It must not be forgotten that the State of Connecticut is a free, sovereign, and independent State; that the United States are a Confederacy of States; that we are a confederated and not a consolidated Republic. The Governor of this State is under as high and solemn obligations 'to maintain the lawful rights and privileges thereof as a sovereign, free and independent State' as he is to support the Constitution of the United States."

The terms of the obligation thus described are quoted from the official oath for our Governors,—an oath soon afterwards changed, by the Constitution of 1818, to its present form, in which the clause in question is not found.

Governor Griswold recommended to our legislature the enactment of a law to raise purely State troops, which the Constitution of the United States permits in time of war. Such acts were passed in both Connecticut† and Massachusetts. The United States declined to pay or provision troops not subject to their orders, and the States felt the burden thus thrown upon them very keenly. Shortly after the close of the war, Congress prepared an Act authorizing the States to raise and officer State troops, to be employed within their own territory or that of adjoining States, and providing for their pay and subsistence. Had such an Act been passed a year or two earlier, said the "Appeal to the Citizens of the United States," published in 1829, in answer to some assertions of John Quincy Adams, the Hartford Convention would never have been called.‡

The Governor of Vermont went farthest in asserting the right of each State, under the Constitution, to command her own militia. On November 10, 1813, Governor Chittenden ordered a body of Vermont militia home from Plattsburgh in New York, where they were stationed, under command of a United States officer.

* Report on the Governor's Speech, page 6.

† Session Laws, October Session, 1812, Chap. I, and October Session, 1814, Chap. 6.

‡ Adams, *New England Federalism*, 63, 86.

The officers of the militia sent the Governor a letter refusing to obey; styling his proclamation of recall one of "folly and infamy," but sugaring the pill by the remark that they considered its issue as due to "evil advisers" by whom he was "encompassed."* When news of this occurrence reached Congress, a motion was made (January 6, 1814) that the Attorney-General prosecute Governor Chittenden for enticing soldiers to desert, but the proposition was laid on the table, and the affair passed over in silence.

In August, 1814, Governor Smith of Connecticut recalled the only detachment of militia which this State had sent to be enrolled in the national service.†

We cannot get a clear idea of the practical relations between the States and the United States, a hundred years ago, without keeping steadily in mind the fact that their theoretical relations were unsettled, down to the close of the civil war, and indeed, until the courts had pronounced upon the law that must be applied in solving the leading problems which the war brought to the front.

The view that it was the right of a State to judge for itself of any violation of the Constitution of the United States, and to secede from the Union if its decision were disregarded, from the very beginning of the Federal government had many supporters in the North as well as in the South. It is almost a necessary corollary from the Virginia Resolutions of 1798, drawn by Madison.

Senator John Taylor of Virginia, in May, 1794, wrote for Madison's information an account of a long conversation which he had had with two of the leaders of Northern political opinion, Rufus King, one of the two first Senators from New York, and Oliver Ellsworth, one of the two first from Connecticut, and soon to be the Chief Justice of the United States. In this interview both King and Ellsworth said that by reason of differences of opinion between the East and the South, as to the scope and functions of government, the Union could not last long, and that

* Records of Governor and Council of Vermont, VI, 494.

† Morison, *Life of Harrison Gray Otis*, II, 105.

therefore they considered it best to have a dissolution at once, by mutual consent, rather than by a less desirable mode. Taylor himself stated to them that he was opposed to a dissolution of the Union, if it were possible to preserve it, but agreed that if that became impossible an amicable separation was preferable.

This memorandum was a confidential one. Madison endorsed it with these words: "The language of K and E probably *in terrorem*," and it was never printed until 1905.* It was evidently treated as the expression of an esoteric doctrine: but both King and Ellsworth were men of their word, and I see little reason to doubt that it was sincerely held by these two statesmen: as it certainly was by many of their constituents at the North or, as the States north of Maryland were then termed, "the East."

In January, 1804, Timothy Pickering, then Senator of the United States from Massachusetts, wrote thus to George Cabot:

"I do not believe in the practicability of a long continued Union. A Northern confederacy would unite congenial characters, and present a fairer prospect of public happiness, while the Southern States, having a similarity of habits, might be left to manage their own affairs in their own way" . . . "I believe, indeed, that if a Northern confederacy were forming, our Southern brethren would be seriously alarmed, and probably abandon their virulent measures. But I greatly doubt whether prudence should suffer the connection to continue much longer. . . . The proposition would be welcomed in Connecticut: and could we doubt of New Hampshire? But New York must be associated: and how is her concurrence to be obtained? She must be the center of the confederacy. Vermont and New Jersey would follow of course, and Rhode Island of necessity. Who can be consulted, and who will take the lead?"†

The next month Judge Reeve of Litchfield wrote to Senator Tracy of Connecticut: "I have seen many of our friends, and all that I have seen, and most that I have heard from, believe that

* White, *Life of Lyman Trumbull*, xxii, note.

† Lodge, *Life of George Cabot*, 387.

we must separate, and that this is the most favorable moment. The difficulty is, how is this to be accomplished? I have heard of only three gentlemen, as yet, who appear undecided upon this subject.”*

Governor Griswold, in March of the same year, wrote to Oliver Wolcott: “I have no hesitation myself in saying that there can be no safety to the Northern States, without a separation from the confederacy. The balance of power under the present government is decidedly in favor of the Southern States; nor can that balance be changed or destroyed. . . . The question, then, is, Can it be safe to remain under a government, in whose measures we can have no effective agency? . . . With these views, I should certainly deem it unfortunate to be compelled to place any man at the head of the Northern interest, who would stop short of the object, or would only use his influence and power, for the purpose of placing himself at the head of the whole Confederacy, as it now stands. If gentlemen in New York should entertain similar opinions, it must be very important to ascertain what the ultimate objects of Colonel Burr are. . . . If we remain inactive, our ruin is certain. Our friends will make no attempts alone. By supporting Mr. Burr, we gain some support, although it is of a doubtful nature and of which, God knows, we have cause enough to be jealous. In short, I see nothing else left for us. The project which we had formed was to induce, if possible, the legislatures of the three New England States, who remain Federal, to commence measures, which should call for a re-union of the Northern States. The extent of those measures, and the rapidity with which they shall be followed up, must be governed by circumstances.”† A few days later, Stephen Higginson of Massachusetts, a member in earlier life of the Continental Congress, writes to Pickering: “I have seen your letters to Mr. Cabot and Mr. Lyman on the question of separation, which is a very delicate and important one, considered in the abstract. We all agree there can be no doubt of its being desirable; but of the expediency of

* Lodge, *Life of George Cabot*, 442.

† Adams, *New England Federalism*, 356, 357.

attempting it, or discussing it now at this moment, we all very much doubt. It is dangerous to continue under the Virginia system: but how to extricate ourselves at present we see not; and if we remain long together, we shall be bound with so many ligatures it will require great efforts to get extricated; and, in the present state of public mind, even here no attempt can be excited. It would indeed be very unpopular to suggest the idea of its being either expedient or necessary.”*

Hamilton was strongly against it, writing on the day before his fatal duel with Burr, as his political valedictory, to Theodore Sedgwick, that “Dismemberment of our Empire will be a clear sacrifice of great positive advantages without any counterbalancing good, administering no relief to our real Disease, which is Democracy, the poison of which by subdivision will only be the more concentrated in each part; and consequently the more virulent.”†

Some of the Federalist leaders in New England entertained quite different views.

Governor William Plumer of New Hampshire, in a letter to John Quincy Adams, dated December 20, 1828, states that while in the Senate of the United States in 1803 and 1804, several of the New England Senators and Representatives informed him that they thought it necessary to establish a separate government in New England; and that he himself then favored such a measure and recommended it in confidential correspondence.

There can be little question that Senators Tracy and Hillhouse of Connecticut were among those with whom he conferred. In a letter to Judge Gould, dated April 9, 1829,‡ Hillhouse denied that he “ever heard or knew of any combination or plot among the Federal members of Congress to dissolve the Union of those States, or to form a Northern or Eastern Confederacy. Nor do I believe there ever was any such combination or plot.” This may be accepted as decisive that no definite plot or combination

* Adams, *New England Federalism*, 361.

† Adams, *New England Federalism*, 365; *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLVIII, 76.

‡ Young, *The American Statesman*, 455; Adams, *New England Federalism*, 100, 144.

was, to his knowledge, agreed on, but is not inconsistent with Senator Plumer's explicit statement that Hillhouse observed to him, in 1803 or 1804, that "the Eastern States must and will dissolve the Union, and form a separate government of their own; and the sooner they do this, the better."*

The embargo of 1807 swept an important ally, Harrison Gray Otis of Massachusetts, at least half way over to Pickering's side. Otis wrote to Josiah Quincy, on December 15, 1808, a letter containing these passages:

"It would be a great misfortune for us to justify the obloquy of wishing to promote a separation of the States, and of being solitary in that pursuit. . . . What then shall we do? In other words, what can Connecticut do? For we can and will come up to her tone. Is she ready to declare the Embargo and its supplementary chains unconstitutional,—to propose to their State the appointment of delegates to meet those from the other commercial States in convention at Hartford or elsewhere, for the purpose of providing some mode of relief that may not be *inconsistent with the Union of these States*, to which we should adhere as long as possible? Shall New York be invited to join; and what shall be the proposed objects of such a convention?"†

In 1809, Governor Lincoln of Massachusetts, a Jefferson Democrat, in his inaugural message, intimated that rumors of an intended secession from the Union were afloat. The Senate, in answer, said that "the people of New England perfectly understood the distinction between the Constitution and the administration. They are as sincerely attached to the Constitution as any portion of the United States. They may be put under the ban of the empire, but they have no intention of abandoning the Union."‡

Two years later, Josiah Quincy, as a representative from Massachusetts in Congress, declared on the floor of the House

* Adams, *New England Federalism*, 106.

† Adams, *Hist. of the U. S.*, IV, 403; Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 164.

‡ Baldwin, *New England Secessionists*, in the *New Englander* for March, 1878, 152.

that should Louisiana be admitted as a State, it would be so flagrant a disregard of the Constitution as virtually to dissolve the Union, "freeing the States composing it from their moral obligation of adhesion to each other, and making it the right of all, as it would become the duty of some, to prepare definitely for separation; amicably if they might, violently if they must." The Speaker ruled the concluding portion of the remarks out of order, but the House reversed his decision by a close vote, in which the majority was chiefly made up of Federalists. But the Federal party in general did not share these sentiments. The Federalist legislatures did not. In 1812, those of Massachusetts and Connecticut both affirmed in plain terms their devotion to the Union in all its integrity.*

In 1809 the Editor of the *Richmond Whig* was prosecuted for a libel against Timothy Pickering, published during the summer of that year. The statement complained of was that Pickering had been concerting with George Canning a separation of the Eastern States from the Union. The *Whig* found that it could not support the charge, and published a retraction on May 20, 1812.

In 1813, a report to the Massachusetts legislature on the Governor's address, referring to the purchase of Louisiana, went as far, in hinting at secession, as any official documents of that era.

"If," it said, "the President and Senate may purchase land, and Congress may plant States in Louisiana, they may with equal right establish them on the Northwest Coast or in South America. It may be questioned hereafter whether, after this formation of new States, the adherence of the old ones which dissented from the measure, is the result of obligation or expediency. . . . We regard the Union as only one of the objects of the Constitution. The others, as expressed in the instrument are 'to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.' So long as the Union can be made the instrument of these other

* Hollister, Hist. of Connecticut, II. 479.

Constitutional objects, it will deserve the support of all the friends of their country. But it is for this only that it possesses a value in our esteem.”*

The next year, on January 14, soon after the action of Governor Chittenden to which reference has been made, and of the discussions in Congress in regard to it, Harrison Gray Otis proposed a step further, by offering in the Massachusetts House of Representatives a resolution pledging that State to give its aid to Vermont and any other State in supporting their constitutional rights; but the proposition was not adopted.†

One of the most careful commentators on the Constitution of the United States was William Rawle, of Philadelphia. In his “View of the Constitution,” published in 1825, and which went to a second edition in 1829, he said:

“If a faction should attempt to subvert the government of a State for the purpose of destroying its republican form, the paternal power of the Union could thus be called forth to subdue it. Yet it is not to be understood that its interposition would be justifiable if the people of a State should determine to retire from the Union, whether they adopted another or retained the same form of government.” . . . “The States, then, may wholly withdraw from the Union, but while they continue, they must retain the character of representative republics.” . . .

“The secession of a State from the Union depends on the will of the people of such State.”‡

To these propositions he reiterated his assent in notes prepared for a third edition, during the Nullification excitement in South Carolina, and after reference to it as a “distressing agitation.”§

That similar opinions were widely, and most universally, held by leading men in the Southern States, from the very beginning of the government, is a matter of common knowledge.||

* Morison, *Life of Harrison Gray Otis*, I. 69.

† *Ibid.*, 64.

‡ Pages 296, 297, 302.

§ Mss. in possession of Francis Rawle of Philadelphia.

|| Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 47: See Jefferson Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I. 70.

In judging the course of historical events, however, the political theories of leading statesmen are entitled to little account, unless they reflect the political and moral convictions of the people in general. Particularly has this been always true of New England, owing to her early system of universal education. A well-known American author said of the New England of a hundred years ago, and it is as true to-day, that it was one of her characteristics "that all classes read, reflect, and form opinions. These give direction to politicians, not politicians to them."^{*}

The Hartford Convention was the expression of the general feeling of the people of Southern New England, both for what it said and for what it did not say. Neither in the South nor in the North did public opinion, in 1814, support the claim that a State could secede, or as the phrase then was, "recede"[†] from the Union, if dissatisfied with the methods of administering it. The Convention was called with the hope to improve those methods, and among other things to strengthen the Union itself by the ordinary process of constitutional amendment or by calling a second Constitutional Convention.

Noah Webster, one of those most active in pushing the movement, which was started in Western Massachusetts where he then lived, declared, twenty years later, that "the thought of dissolving the Union never entered the head of any of the projectors, or of the members of the Convention."[‡] When it was under discussion in the House of Representatives, of which he was one, he argued that for a State to initiate a project of a Convention of the States to improve the federal constitution there was a precise precedent, namely, the Convention of five States held at Annapolis in 1786, which virtually convoked the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Webster, however, clearly ignored the important distinction between what the confederated States could do before the Constitution of 1789, and what they could do after that instrument had made them the United States.

^{*} S. G. Goodrich. *Recollections of a Life Time*, I, 450.

[†] See IX Am. Hist. Review, 99.

[‡] Webster, *Collection of Papers on Political, Literary, and Moral Subjects*, 315. Cf. his letter to Daniel Webster of Sept. 6, 1834, given in IX Am. Hist. Rev., 96.

Here was the same error on which Jefferson Davis founded his first inaugural message to the Confederate Congress in 1862.*

In the call of Massachusetts for the Convention, as issued, the objects proposed were to deliberate on the dangers to which the Eastern section of the Union was exposed by the war; to devise, if practicable, means of security and defence, "not repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union," and to inquire whether the Constitution of the "nation" could not be improved by amendments on the initiative of these States, or through a new Constitutional Convention,† either of all the States, as provided by the Constitution, or, if that mode of proceeding should be deemed impracticable, of such as should approve of holding it. That to secure such a convention as the Constitution provides for would be impracticable was the opinion of the committee on whose report the resolution was adopted.‡

Both the resolution and the call were promptly referred by the General Assembly of Connecticut to a special committee. Its report was drafted by Roger Minott Sherman (though not the chairman) and recommended that Connecticut send delegates, as requested.§ The paper was moderate in tone. Connecticut has never been inclined to move in the field either of law or philosophy as rapidly or as uncompromisingly as Massachusetts.

The Massachusetts delegates to the Hartford Convention were appointed by the terms of the resolution to "confer with delegates from the other New England States, or any other, upon the subject of their public grievances and concerns; and upon the best means of preserving our resources; and of defence against the enemy: and to devise and suggest for adoption by those respective States such measures as they may deem expedient; and also to take measures, if they shall think it proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States in order to revise the Constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of all the people, by placing all upon the basis of fair representation."

* Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I. 232.

† Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention*. 343.

‡ Adams, *History of the United States*, VIII, 225.

§ Goodrich, *Recollections of a Life Time*, II, 27.

It will be noted that the objects thus specified are not precisely those mentioned in the call. The most important deviation is that while the resolution looks ultimately to a constitutional convention of all the States, the call looks to an extra-constitutional convention of a part of them only.

The Connecticut delegates were appointed to confer with the delegates that might be sent from any other of the New England States on the subjects proposed in the Massachusetts resolution and any other "for the purpose of devising and recommending such measures for the safety and welfare of the States, as may consist with our obligations as members of the National Union."*

The delegates elected from the three States which participated in the Convention were carefully selected for their general moderation and good judgment. No extremists were present. James Hillhouse and Harrison Gray Otis were indeed appointed, but Josiah Quincy was passed by. He had been too pronounced in his public assertions.† Hillhouse was not known in his own State to have been inclined, ten years before, to transplant the doctrine of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 to New England soil.‡ Roger Griswold and Senator Tracy, probably the only Connecticut men who understood his position at that time, were now both dead.

It is important not to confound the consultations of 1803 and 1804, described by Adams and Plumer, with those which immediately preceded the Hartford Convention. Plumer himself had changed his views, and was doing what he could to oppose any secession by New England, even for a time. The conferences of 1804 had looked towards a secret meeting of a few individuals at Boston. It was not until 1808 that any public suggestion was made of a conference of delegates regularly appointed by the States, to act on a proposition to establish a Northern Confederacy. Such a meeting was then advocated in the newspapers, and New Haven was named as a suitable place at which

* Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention*, 349.

† Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 357.

‡ See Warfield, *The Ky. Resolutions of 1798*, 174.

to hold it.* But it was not until the annexation of Louisiana had been followed by an embargo, and that by war, and that by the difference of views between the New England States and the general movement as to the calling of the militia into its service, that the movement towards a possible dissolution of the Union gained any real strength.†

Disunion at this time was feared on the part of the West, as well as the East.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote to Robert Goodloe Harper, on December 4, 1814, in relation to the British expedition against New Orleans, "Should the enemy succeed, perhaps the Western States, partly by force and partly by advantages which the British may hold out to them, may be induced to form a separate confederacy. Their separation will secure the union of the Atlantic States, and form the best security for Canada."‡

A clever satire on the calling of the Hartford Convention was published in Windsor, Vermont, in 1815. It begins thus:

"1. And it came to pass in the days of James the President, that certain infuriate Princes and Nobles of the Eastern Provinces mutinized, saying: We will not have this man to reign over us.

2. Now the dominions of James were very extensive, consisting of eighteen provinces and several large territories.

3. And there was among the mutineers one Caleb Bael parazim, tetrarch of a Province that lieth toward the N. E., bordering on the sea-coast.

4. This man wrote letters to the tetrarchs of five of the provinces which lie roundabout, saying,

5. Appoint ye men to go up to the palace of a city that lieth in the South West province, that we may consult together, and make war with James and with the people of the other provinces, and separate ourselves from them;

* Young, *The American Statesman*. 437, 441, 443, 446, 449.

† See the Extracts from the New England newspapers collected by Frank M. Anderson, in *A Forgotten Phase of the New England Opposition to the War of 1812*, Mass. Valley Hist. Ass'n Proceedings, Vol. VI.

‡ Rowland, *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, II. 307.

6. That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet John, whose sir-name was Henry, saying,

7. The legislature of Massachusetts will give the tone to the neighboring States; will invite a new Congress, to be composed of delegates from the several States; and erect a separate government for their common defence and common interest.”*

The legislature of Vermont, largely through the efforts of Chief Justice Nathaniel Chipman, voted unanimously to send no delegates to the Convention. New Hampshire appointed none; but two of her citizens, appointed by county conventions, were admitted to seats. So was a citizen of Vermont, having similar credentials from a county convention described in the *Vermont Republican* as “composed of a few Lawyers, Doctors, and Merchants.”†

When Rhode Island followed Connecticut in appointing delegates, the *Boston Centinel* of November 9, 1814, announced their accession under the head line,

SECOND AND THIRD PILLARS OF A NEW FEDERAL EDIFICE REARED.

It will be recollected that in 1812 certain correspondence fell into the hands of our government which showed that an Englishman, one John Henry, under secret instructions from the Canadian government, had visited Boston and other New England points, in 1809, to learn what was the state of public opinion with regard to our relations with Great Britain. His reports indicated the existence of great dissatisfaction, and their disclosure was a heavy blow to the Federalist party. When, two years later, the Hartford Convention was held, Jefferson formed the opinion that it was a project fomented by the British ministry. He writes, on December 10, 1814, to John Melish, that the British conditions of peace had been “designedly put into an impossible form to give time for the development of their plots and concerts with the factionists of Boston, and that

* Morison, *Life of Harrison Gray Otis*, II, 126.

† Records of Governor and Council of Vermont, VI, 462.

they are holding off to see the issue, not of the Congress of Vienna, but that of Hartford."

On December 27, 1814, he writes to M. de Serra that "the negotiators at Ghent are agreed now on every point save one, the demand and cession of a portion of Maine. This, it is well known, cannot be yielded by us, nor deemed by them an object for continuing a war so expensive, so injurious to their commerce and manufacturers, and so odious in the eyes of the world. But it is a thread to hold by until they can hear the result, not of the Congress of Vienna, but of Hartford. When they shall know, as they will know, that nothing will be done there, they will let go their hold, and complete the peace of the world, by agreeing to the *status ante bellum*."*

So in writing to Lafayette on February 14, 1815, he speaks of the British ministry as having formed some hopes of carrying the war to a successful issue on the state of the finances, but "more in their Hartford Convention." "Their fears," he continues, "of Republican France being now done away, they are directed to republican America, and they are playing the same game for disorganization here, which they played in your country. The Marats, the Dantons and Robespierres of Massachusetts are in the same pay, under the same orders, and making the same efforts to anarchise us, that their prototypes in France did there. I do not say that all who met at Hartford were under the same motives of money, nor were those of France. Some of them are Outs and wish to be Ins; some the mere dupes of the agitators or of their own party passions, while the Maratists alone are in the real secret; but they have very different materials to work on. The yeomanry of the United States are not the *canaille* of Paris. We might safely give them leave to go through the United States recruiting their ranks, and, I am satisfied, they could not raise one single regiment (gambling merchants and silk-stocking clerks excepted) who would support them in any effort to separate from the Union."†

* Writings of Thomas Jefferson, XIV, 221, 225.

† *Ibid.*, 251.

John Quincy Adams had been the leader in charging projects of secession on the Federalist party. He had stated his convictions as to this to President Jefferson. That President Madison believed the accusation is plain from his Message of March 9, 1812, accompanying the Henry letters, in which he describes them as throwing light on a scheme "of destroying the Union, and forming the Eastern part thereof into a political connection with Great Britain." President John Adams accepted his son's position with reference to plots of disunion. He said to George Ticknor of Boston, in December, 1814, that George Cabot, the President of the Hartford Convention, wanted to be President of New England.

The Convention was looked upon with great ill will by the Republicans, or as they were now coming to be called, the Democrats, of Hartford. On the day of its first meeting, a small company of recruits for the United States army marched through the streets with muffled drums and reversed arms; the British flag was displayed at half mast at the recruiting station; and the bell of the Baptist church was tolled, as at a funeral, at the instance,—it was reported,—of one of the city physicians, Dr. Sylvester Wells.* He was repaid for it by the following lampoon:

"And is it true, then, Doctor Wells
You got the folks to toll the bells
Kindly to notice the Convention?
Unless loud fame a falsehood tells
Your physie often, Doctor Wells,
Has made the people toll the bells
Without your kind intention.

In vain you tried with sapient fate
To cure the evils of the State
By federal purgation.
Democracy will ne'er control us
Its horrid slang cannot cajole us
Pray give your patients, give a bolus
To the rulers of the nation."†

* Goodrich, *Recollections of a Life Time*, II, 32.

† *Conn. Mag.*, XII, 121. The verses are found in a Ms. owned by Mrs. Anna Morris Perry of Hartford.

Major Thomas S. Jesup of Kentucky was at this time head of the military District of Connecticut. The Secretary of War, James Monroe, ordered him to superintend the recruiting office at Hartford, and while there to report to him the doings of the Convention and, in case any sign of rebellion appeared, to call on the Governor of New York for military aid. Daily reports were accordingly made from December 15, 1814, when the Convention opened, until January 23, 1815.* They contained nothing of importance.

The Convention sat with closed doors, and great was the solicitude of the public to know what was under consideration.

Would they make a threat of secession? Would they be for keeping all their militia, as a home guard? Would they attack the non-intercourse Act of Congress as unconstitutional?

The best guess was made by Josiah Quincy. "What do you suppose will be the result of this Convention?" asked a friend who met him on the street one day, when it was in progress. "I can tell you exactly," was his answer. "Can you indeed," said the inquirer, "and what will it be?" "A great pamphlet," he responded.

It was freely asserted at the time that the Convention was working for a peace at any price. This was certainly unwarranted. Harrison Gray Otis says with truth, in his *Letters in Defence of the Hartford Convention and the People of Massachusetts*,† that the Convention "was, correctly speaking, a *war measure*, rather than a peace measure. It was one of a series of propositions for raising men and money for public defence."

. . . It was "professedly and truly a Council of War."

The great pamphlet, which had been predicted by Quincy, appeared in January, 1815, in the shape of a lengthy and well-drawn report of the conclusions of the Convention.

In this, after expression of the conviction that the people of other States will yet come to feel that New England "cannot be made exclusively the victim of a capricious and impassioned policy," are added the only passages looking to secession:

* Von Holst. History of the Constitution of the United States, 1750-1835, 265; Hildreth. History of the United States, III. N. S., 546.

† Pages 14, 21.

“Finally, if the Union be destined to dissolution by reason of the multiplied abuses of bad administrations, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times, and deliberate consent. Some new form of confederacy should be substituted among those States which shall intend to maintain a federal relation to each other. Events may prove that the causes of our calamities are deep and permanent. . . . Whenever it shall appear that these causes are radical and permanent, a separation by equitable arrangement will be preferable to an alliance by constraint, among nominal friends, but real enemies, inflamed by mutual hatred and jealousy, and inviting, by intestine divisions, contempt and aggression from abroad. But a severance of the Union by one or more States, against the will of the rest, can be justified only by absolute necessity.” . . .

“That Acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void, is an undeniable position. It does not, however, consist with respect and forbearance due from a confederate State towards the general government, to fly to open resistance upon every infraction of the Constitution. The mode and the energy of the opposition should always conform to the nature of the violation, the intention of its authors, the extent of the injury inflicted, the determination manifested to persist in it, and the danger of delay. But in cases of deliberate, dangerous and palpable infractions of the Constitution, affecting the sovereignty of a State, and liberties of the people; it is not only the right but the duty of such a State to interpose its authority for their protection, in the manner best calculated to secure that end. When emergencies occur which are either beyond the reach of the judicial tribunals, or too pressing to admit of the delay incident to their forms, States which have no common umpire, must be their own judges, and execute their own decisions. It will thus be proper for the several States to wait the ultimate disposal of the obnoxious measures recommended by the Secretary of War, or pending before Congress, and so to use their power according to the character these measures shall finally assume, as effectually to protect their own sovereignty, and the rights and liberties of their citizens.” . . .

“With this view they suggest an arrangement, which may at once be consistent with the honour and interest of the national government, and the security of these States. This it will not be difficult to conclude, if that government should be so disposed. By the terms of it these States might be allowed to assume their own defence, by the militia or other troops. A reasonable portion, also, of the taxes raised in each State might be paid into its treasury, and credited to the United States, but to be appropriated to the defence of such State, to be accounted for with the United States.” . . . “Should an application for these purposes, made to Congress by the State legislatures, be attended with success, and should peace upon just terms appear to be unattainable, the people would stand together for the common defence, until a change of administration, or of disposition in the enemy, should facilitate the occurrence of that auspicious event. It would be inexpedient for this Convention to diminish the hope of a successful issue to such an application, by recommending, upon supposition of a contrary event, ulterior proceedings. Nor is it indeed within their province. In a state of things so solemn and trying as may then arise, the legislatures of the States, or conventions of the whole people, or delegates appointed by them for the express purpose in another Convention, must act as such urgent circumstances may then require.”

Among the recommendations of this report were the adoption of suitable measures to protect the citizens of the States represented in the Convention from subjection to conscriptions or impressments not authorized by the Constitution of the United States, and an immediate application of these States to the government of the United States for their consent to the arrangement as to taxes above indicated.

Then followed a specification of seven amendments to the Constitution which the States were advised to propose.

The first only has since been adopted. It was for proportioning representation in Congress to the free population of each State. That was not to come until slavery had been abolished, half a century later. The sixth was directed against aliens, and would have made any of them, thereafter naturalized, ineligible

to civil office under the federal government. The seventh would have confined the President to a single term, and forbidden the choice of a citizen of the same State as his immediate successor.

The report concluded with the two following resolutions:

“Resolved, That if the application of these States to the government of the United States, recommended in a foregoing resolution, should be unsuccessful, and peace should not be concluded, and the defence of these States should be neglected, as it has been since the commencement of the war, it will, in the opinion of this convention, be expedient for the legislatures of the several States to appoint delegates to another convention, to meet at Boston in the State of Massachusetts, on the third Thursday of June next, with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require.

Resolved, That the Hon. George Cabot, the Hon. Chauncey Goodrich, and the Hon. Daniel Lyman, or any two of them, be authorized to call another meeting of this convention, to be holden in Boston, at any time before new delegates shall be chosen, as recommended in the above resolution, if in their judgment the situation of the country shall urgently require it.”

Massachusetts and Connecticut were the only States which joined in the proposal to Congress for the seven amendments to the Constitution. Eight States expressly refused to support them. New York and Pennsylvania were among these, and letters from their Governors were laid before the legislature of Vermont in October, 1815.*

The people of the United States generally were satisfied with the Constitution as it then stood. They looked with suspicion on any proposition to amend it. An organization for its defence was formed in New York city in 1808, which soon spread into New England. It was largely composed of Federalists and styled the Washington Benevolent Society. Its members took an oath to support and preserve the Constitution against the inroads of despotism, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy.†

* Records of the Governor and Council of Vermont, VI, 455, 464; Report of Am. Hist. Association for 1896, II, 46.

† Morison, Life of Harrison Gray Otis, II, 301.

It had held the American people together fairly well for twenty years. If it were to be radically changed, no one could predict the result.

Bonaparte said that a Constitution should be short and obscure.

That of the United States is certainly short. It is also, in some parts, and was meant to be, obscure. Its meaning has been and is daily being gradually interpreted by the courts. The judiciary, in exercising this function, has not been blind to the times. It has thus far kept fairly in accord with prevailing public opinion. If new readings have thus been devised, they have at all events been in harmony with the general scheme of the original document. Every amendment is necessarily somewhat inconsistent with that scheme. Else why adopt it?

Propositions to amend the Constitution emanating from an irregular convention of a group of States were not likely to find much favor outside of that group.

No such convention of official delegates, to deal with questions of a political character, had been held since that of 1787 at Philadelphia. None such has ever since been held, and none is likely to be. The balance of power between State and nation is delicately adjusted in our constitutional system. A body of the character of that which met in Hartford in 1814 might easily disturb it.

It was largely this sentiment which cast an odium upon the Hartford Convention which has never been completely removed.

Another thing, hardly less powerful in bringing it into general disfavor, was that, during a great war, it was a movement in acknowledged opposition to the policy of the administration as to the best means of conducting that war, on our side. It was made up of men who had virtually pronounced in advance that the war measures adopted by the President and Congress were unwise, if not unconstitutional.

A letter which Calvin Goddard, one of our delegates, on November 1, 1814, wrote from New Haven, where he was attending the General Assembly as a member of the Council, to

Senator David Daggett at Washington, plainly shows the tense feeling of the leading spirits there. We find in it these words:

“We must not—will not submit to despotism. I am a republican—truly—absolutely and entirely so—born—bred—educated to be so. I am willing for the sake of repose to make sacrifices, but not to become a slave or to entail slavery upon *six* dear little ones who are to come after me. If heads are to be lost, *one* is less valuable than six in my estimation. . . . I am no rebel—have no scheme of severing the Union. I should consider it as an evil of no small magnitude if accomplished by *compact* in the most peaceable way; as horrible if accomplished by force. But there are evils, it must be remembered, greater than even this. New England are not yet taught to be slaves. It will be a difficult lesson for them to learn. We do not mean to threaten, but I do strongly suspect that this military conscription, if carried into effect, will raise a storm not *easily* quelled. Indeed, no one can anticipate, except with horror, the crisis to which the United States are arriving by means of this accursed war.”*

A few weeks later President Madison, in a letter (November 26, 1814) to Governor Nicholson of Virginia, gives the view of the administration, and, we may say, in the main of the country, as to what then seemed to be the policy of New England. It runs thus:

“You are not mistaken in viewing the conduct of the Eastern States as the source of our greatest difficulties in carrying on the war, as it certainly is the greatest, if not the sole, inducement with the enemy to persevere in it. The greater part of the people in that quarter have been brought by their leaders, aided by their priests, under a delusion scarcely exceeded by that recorded in the period of witchcraft; and the leaders are becoming daily more desperate in the use they make of it. Their object is power. If they could obtain it by menaces, their

* The Daggett Mss. (1814) in the library of Yale University.

efforts would stop there. These failing, they are ready to go every length for which they can train their followers. Without foreign coöperation, revolts & separation will hardly be risked,—and what the effect of so profligate an experiment may be, first on deluded partisans, and next on those remaining faithful to the nation, who are respectable for their consistency and even for their numbers, is for conjecture only. The best may be hoped, but the worst ought to be kept in view.”*

Mr. Otis published his “Letters” in defence of the Convention in 1819, but it fell flat.

It was generally thought unwise thus to revive an old controversy. Jeremiah Mason wrote thus of it, on April 15, 1820, to Rufus King:

“The good people of New England have been much disturbed during the past Winter by the appearance of the ghost of the Hartford Convention, so adroitly conjured up by Mr. Otis in his defence of the character of the defunct. When I was in Boston, last Autumn, he mentioned to me his intention of undertaking that defence. I tried to dissuade him from the attempt. I do not know what he thinks of his success, but I am told that all his friends, as well as the friends of the Convention, are heartily sorry that he brought this unlucky subject back from the oblivion into which it was fast sinking.”†

How it was regarded by the Democratic leaders of the day in Connecticut may be made more clear by a reference to it made by a pamphleteer, styling himself “a Federal Republican,” in a tract published at the office of the *Hartford Times* in 1817, entitled “the Politics of Connecticut.” In this the Hartford Convention is described as “the foulest stain on our State escutcheon. . . . This Convention,” he proceeds, “was suffered to engender within our very bosom and now sits like an *Incubus* upon the breast of every virtuous citizen.” . . . It was “an imperishable monument of infamy and deposits in the archives of the nation a record of history in testimony against

* Writings of James Madison, VIII, 319.

† Memoirs of Jeremiah Mason, 240.

us, which overwhelms us with astonishment and confusion, and will entail opprobrium upon our latest posterity.”

Harrison Gray Otis ran for Governor of Massachusetts in 1823. His part in the Hartford Convention was at once recalled and served powerfully to defeat him. This squib, published during the campaign, may illustrate the feeling of the hour :

“ Who was at Hartford?
I, says Sir Harry,
At Hartford did tarry
And I was at Hartford.
Whom met you at Hartford?
Three and twenty wise men
Separation devising
These met I at Hartford.

And honest men frown, whenever they mention
The names of Sir Harry and the Hartford Convention.”*

The people are generally right in their judgment upon large questions. The American people out of New England, as a whole, condemned the calling of the Convention. It might have led to serious consequences. If the requests it voted to make at Washington should be unheeded, its resolutions provided for the holding of another convention. It was probable that they would be unheeded. What would then be the probable outcome of a second convention ?

The question became unimportant by the conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent. The commissioners appointed to repair to the capitol did so, but the news of the peace got there ahead of them. From that moment there was nothing but distrust, dislike and ridicule, in the nation at large, for the Hartford Convention and all that belonged to it.

In 1841 an attack was made in a letter to the *New York Express* upon Daniel Webster, on account of certain of his votes in the House of Representatives, during the War of 1812. One of them was thus described :

“On the 1st of December, only a few days before the sitting of the Hartford Convention, he voted against a bill to provide additional revenue for defraying the expenses of the government

* Morison, Life of Harrison Gray Otis, II, 242.

and maintaining the public credit." The *National Intelligencer* published a reply, in which it is remarked that "this reference to the Hartford Convention is merely for effect, and to make unfair and false impressions; as it is known to all, who are not wilfully ignorant, that Mr. Webster had nothing to do with the Hartford Convention."

I mention this incident simply as showing the general unpopularity attaching to those who were identified with that Assembly. This is well illustrated also by a story told of Roger Minott Sherman. Long after the Convention had been held, he was travelling in Virginia, and stopped at a country inn. The landlord showed great curiosity in questioning him as to who he was, where he came from, and whither he was going. At last Mr. Sherman said, "Sit down and I will tell you all about it. I am from the Blue Light State of Connecticut." The landlord stared. "I am a deacon in a Calvinistic church." The landlord was evidently shocked. "I was a member of the Hartford Convention." This was too much, and the landlord walked sadly away.*

Not far from the same time, a visitor to Hartford from a Southern State strolled into the State House and asked to be shown the room in which the Hartford Convention sat. It was the one used as the Senate Chamber, and over the President's chair hung the picture of Washington by Gilbert Stuart which now adorns Memorial Hall in the Supreme Court building. It may be recollected that the portrait is rather highly colored, and no doubt more so then than now. The stranger turned his eyes to it and asked if Washington's picture was there when the Convention sat. "Certainly," replied his guide. "Well," said the man, looking at it again, "I'll be damned if he's got the blush off yet."†

* Goodrich, *Recollections of a Life Time*, II, 47.

† *Ibid.*, 34.

NOTES ON SOME OF THE NEW HAVEN LOYALISTS, INCLUDING THOSE GRADUATED AT YALE.

By FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, LITT.D.

[Read January 18, 1915.]

A good many years ago, while spending a summer in London, I was interested in turning over, in the Government Record Office, the manuscript reports of the Commissioners appointed in 1783 to review the applications made by the American Loyalist refugees for compensation for losses which they had suffered. At that time I made notes of the testimony in cases of special interest; and some of these notes have formed the basis of the present paper. I should mention, however, that more recently a full transcript of all these records has been secured for the New York Public Library, in New York City; and as this transcript can be freely consulted by any one, with very slight trouble, my notes have no longer even the modest value which I may have once attached to them.

Any sketch, however slight, or superficial, of the sentiment in Connecticut at the time of the Revolution must be based primarily upon our historical development.

Under the self-government provided by the comparatively liberal charter of 1662, this Colony had been, generally speaking, quiet and prosperous for a century: with the consequence that in the exciting decade before the outbreak of the Revolution, a large proportion of the shrewdest and most influential public and professional men doubted, to say the least, if they were not likely to be better off under existing conditions in this favored spot than they would be if independent of Britain:—this being not merely a conviction in relation to their individual

welfare, but also in consideration of the permanent interests of the community.

Foremost in the opposite scale was the healthy instinct of loyal coöperation in the united action of other provincial governments, which in its turn involved also a broader and more comprehensive self-interest; and in most cases this process of deliberation and argument resulted in the ungrudging support of a policy of armed resistance.

By a law of human nature, hesitation in taking up the attitude of rebels was at first especially the rôle of the older generation of public men, under the dominion of the habits of a life-time. Of this class an early example was the Governor of the Colony, Thomas Fitch, of Norwalk. born in 1700, and graduated at Yale in 1721, who after a lifelong service of the State, culminating in twelve-years' tenure of the chief magistracy, was relegated to private life in 1766, for regarding it his bounden duty to take the oath required by the British government to put in operation the odious Stamp Act. Of course I would not imply that Governor Fitch is to be classed as a pronounced Loyalist; but his attitude, and that of the four members of his Council who stood by him in this crisis (John Chester, of Wethersfield, Benjamin Hall, of Cheshire, Jabez Hamlin, of Middletown, and Ebenezer Silliman, of Fairfield), and of Jared Ingersoll, of New Haven, the unhappy Stamp-Agent, was practically an anticipation of that of many others who were active in public matters eight and ten years later; and when the need of decision arrived for these also, we cannot wonder if a natural instinct constrained some such to remain faithful to their traditionary obligations.

Perhaps I may illustrate the customary ways in which the thinking men of this next generation were affected by the problem set before them, by taking the examples of five of the more conspicuous public men of the group of Yale graduates in Connecticut,—a group, however, which included a large proportion of the leading men in civil life. The five whose names suggest themselves, and who were all about sixty years of age in 1774. are George Wyllys, of the Class of 1729; Elihu Hall,

Class of 1731; Abraham Davenport, Class of 1732; and Benjamin Gale and Samuel Talcott, Class of 1733.

Colonel Wylls, of Hartford, had grown gray in official service as the Secretary of the Colony, and continued to hold that useful station acceptably until his death at the ripe age of eighty-five; and though he was currently understood to be averse at first to the change of allegiance, he refrained prudently from overt action, and not only outgrew completely the faint odium of loyalty, but even the repute and recollection of it.

Colonel Elihu Hall, of Wallingford, on the other hand, is the sole representative in this group of pure and consistent toryism. His birth and family connections opened to him the best that Connecticut had to offer; and after his admission to the bar his success as a lawyer was phenomenally rapid. An extensive practice led to repeated trips to England, which increased his attachment to the mother country, and ensured his choice of it as a refuge after war began. He fled from New Haven to New York in January, 1779; and a letter is preserved, retailing his report to British authorities of conditions in Connecticut at that date, which is as untrustworthy as such reports were apt to be. He estimates, for example, that two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Colony are in favor of reunion with Great Britain; and announces that Governor Trumbull's popularity is declining—as evinced at the polls: an assertion entirely inconsistent with all other evidence. He also intimates that important conversions to the British side are imminent; but unfortunately the only two examples which he specifies do not display shrewd judgment. One of these, his own brother-in-law, the Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey, pastor of the First Church in New Haven, is abundantly known as of unswerving and otherwise unsuspected patriotism; and the same is, so far as I can learn, true of the other individual named, Colonel Thomas Seymour, of Hartford. Such baseless gossip was bound to react on the informer and his value as an adherent; and the sequel is not out of keeping with this prologue. For our latest glimpse of Colonel Hall is in London, after the war, pleading that, having lost his large American property, his only support, in an infirm

and lonely old age, is his pension of £80 a year, which will not allow him to keep a servant. Others of the London colony of refugees add their testimony to the dismal picture,—to the effect that he has in earlier life been confined in a madhouse, and now squanders the little he has in liquor and debauchery.

In the College class below him was Abraham Davenport, of Stamford, a great-grandson of the first minister of New Haven, a prominent member of the Governor's Council, or Upper House of the General Assembly, and Judge of the County Court. He was naturally conservative in his judgment of public questions, and it was no secret that he viewed with great hesitation and disfavor a rupture with Great Britain; but when it became necessary for the Colony to range itself definitely in the organized struggle, he yielded to the paramount claims of the common cause, and thenceforth no one was more firm or more constant in its service.

In the Class of 1733 were Dr. Benjamin Gale, of Clinton, and Colonel Samuel Talcott, of Hartford. Dr. Gale was a learned and skilful physician, of very pronounced and not altogether orthodox views in religion and philosophy. He took also a deep interest in politics, and had served for years in the Assembly. He was one of the most striking characters of his generation in Connecticut, very pessimistic and critical in his outlook, and acknowledging no man and no group of men as master. To such an observer the revolutionary movement was full of danger. He was firmly attached to the cause of liberty, as he conceived it, but differed conscientiously from his neighbors and associates as to the proper *mode* of opposition to Great Britain: but in the issue, even this perverse and captious critic was clear-sighted enough to concede that one's preferences as to mode must give way, in cases where another mode has been commonly agreed upon.

His classmate, Samuel Talcott, son of the Governor of the Colony, and therefore, like George Wylls and Abraham Davenport, placed at the head of his class by social standing, was by inheritance and descent counted among the richest and most highly favored gentry of the period. In middle life he had

performed his due share of civil and military service, and now, in a leisurely old age, his circumstances and habits illy adapted him to welcome the hardships of the Revolution. In the result, however, he too is found standing firmly by the new State government and withholding nothing.

Like these, in their different ways, the better part of the maturer intelligence of the Colony went through the ordeal of a conflict between self-interest, or private judgment, and public policy, and rallied effectively in support of independence.

Under the Connecticut charter, the people elected their own rulers, and accordingly there was here no such large official class, dependent on the British power, as in the other American colonies; and what constituted the largest section of the Tory party in most of the neighboring governments, was here practically non-existent.

As one result of this situation, the most numerous group in Connecticut of those who were by personal affiliations predestined to sympathy with Great Britain, was the body of missionary clergy of the Church of England, all of whom, on receiving orders in the mother country, had taken a special oath of allegiance to the crown, and were moreover dependent in good part on the stipends furnished by the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel."

If I have counted correctly, there were at the outbreak of the war nineteen Episcopal clergymen in Connecticut, of whom fifteen were Yale graduates. The eldest of this group, the Rev. John Beach, born in Stratford in 1700, and graduated in 1721, had come as an undergraduate under the influence of Samuel Johnson, then Tutor; and after his settlement in the Congregational ministry in Newtown, while Johnson was in charge of the Church of England mission in the adjoining township of Stratford, he was led by the same influence to conform to Episcopacy, and eventually to accept the cure of missions in Newtown and Redding. It may be an indication of the weight of his character that the proportion of Episcopalians in Newtown before the Revolution is said to have been higher than in any other township in Connecticut. He is specially remembered for his

intrepidity in continuing to use in public worship, after all his fellow-presbyters had closed their church-doors, the appointed prayer for the King, which included a petition to "strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies."

Next to Mr. Beach, at least among those of Connecticut birth, in length of service in the Colony, was the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, born on the confines of Durham and Middletown in 1717, and graduated at Yale in 1745. He also had been touched by Samuel Johnson's influence, and, after receiving orders and serving temporarily elsewhere, became in 1758 the minister of the parish in Norwalk, where after twenty years of devoted labor he suffered unhappily at the hands of both parties to the war,—first as a tory from wanton exposure while lodged on the floor of the county jail in winter, which rendered him a wretched cripple for the rest of his days, and secondly from the destruction of all his personal effects, a year later, when General Tryon, though himself a member of the Venerable Society whose commission Leaming bore, with equal wantonness burned his house and his church in the invasion of Norwalk. He was then transported within the British lines, but after the peace came back to Connecticut, and found in his destitute and forlorn old age an asylum here with that devoted Churchwoman, Madam Hillhouse, in whose mansion, known to us as Grove Hall, he died in 1804.

The most blatant and most notorious member of this group of Church clergy was Samuel Peters, of Hebron, born of Episcopal parents in 1735, and graduated at Yale in 1757, who became a missionary in his native town and the vicinity. On the news of British troops firing on Boston, in 1774, his arrogant and offensive attitude, and especially his activity in publishing resolutions condemning the popular opposition to Parliament, provoked such treatment and such threats that he fled forthwith to England.

His sworn statements of his resources and his losses, which are still on file there, in connection with his applications for compensation, are ludicrously and impudently overdrawn. He claims, for instance, that his father, who was a plain, ordinarily

well-to-do farmer, in one of the poorest towns in Hartford County, had been the richest citizen of the entire Colony, and that his own confiscated estate was valued at the absurd figure of upwards of £40,000. By this extravagant tale he succeeded in gaining a pension of £200 a year, which was withdrawn some twenty-five years later, after fuller experience of his pretentious unreliability.

It may seem like slaying the slain to enlarge on the falsehoods of the notorious Parson Peters; but whenever I read over anew any of his attempts at narration, I am reassured that his colossal powers of untruth have never been properly appreciated. Take, for instance, his article in the *Political Magazine* of London, on the History of his near neighbor, Governor Trumbull, of Lebanon, who had striven hard to protect him from the mob in his troubles, but whose life Peters pretends to sketch in a series of the most outrageously unblushing and libelous falsehoods. In justification of such a characterization it will be enough to recall the initial statement in Peters' biography:—that Jonathan Trumbull, a scion of a family of unblemished reputation, was really an illegitimate child, and probably the son of the Rev. Samuel Welles, the minister of the town,—and this regardless of the plain fact that Mr. Welles was not settled in Lebanon until more than a year after Trumbull's birth.

It only emphasizes Peters' peculiar character, or lack of character, to note that he was the only minister of the Church of England in the Colony who thought it advisable or necessary to forsake his post for a foreign asylum, before the war began; though four others, James Scovil of Waterbury, Roger Viets of Simsbury, Samuel Andrews of Wallingford, and Richard Clarke, of New Milford, were induced, after peace was declared, under stress of poverty by the removal of their flocks, rather than from experience of enmity or odium, to accept the cure of parishes in the British Provinces, of kindred origin and sympathies.

There remain a dozen other Episcopal incumbents, whom I have not mentioned specifically, who retained their places through the Revolutionary struggle, with more or less discomfort

and some ill-usage, and finally acquiesced peacefully in the results accomplished. Of this number were such familiar figures in this vicinity as the Rev. Richard Mansfield, Yale 1741, of Derby, the Rev. Bela Hubbard, Yale 1758, of New Haven, and the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, Yale 1761, of Middletown—all of whom lived to be doctorated in a succeeding generation by their *Alma Mater*. It should perhaps be noted that Dr. Mansfield, though not in any wise to be classed with Peters, had once found it prudent to take temporary refuge on Long Island, on account of the excitement caused by the report of a letter of his to a British officer, which merely included some conjectural estimate of the strength of Loyalist sentiment in Western Connecticut.

Many lay-members of the Episcopal Church were also avowed or suspected loyalists; but comparatively few went to the length of exile. In such a conspicuous case as that of the Hon. William Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Yale 1744, one of the most eminent lawyers in the Colony, he must be credited with an honest doubt as to the right course of action; on finding himself unable conscientiously to advocate independence, he retired definitely from all public employment, but let it be known that he had no inclination to aid the enemy, and had without hesitation contributed to the patriotic cause; and when peace was established, he assumed a prominent and effective part in the councils of the State and of the nation.

One locally well-known lay-churchman who had to be dealt with for his loyalty was Ralph Isaacs, a native of Norwalk, who had settled in New Haven as a merchant after his graduation at Yale in 1761, and became the grandfather of the Hon. Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll, and uncle of the wife of the elder President Dwight. He was a rather volatile person, and was early mistrusted as a sympathizer with the enemy, so that for over a year he was held under observation and restraint in one of the interior towns, where it was presumed he would lack opportunity of making trouble; but he soon transgressed by taking advantage of his partial liberty to supply his neighbors surreptitiously with rum. After a further period of surveillance, he took the oath

of fidelity, and lived thenceforth in comparative retirement, and mostly on his farm in Branford.

Another lay-churchman of New Haven, who accompanied Mr. Isaacs in his temporary banishment, was Captain Abiathar Camp, a native of Durham; and he also, after a like period of detention, took the oath and was allowed to return to his residence here. But his allegiance was fickle, and finally he and his family went off with the British after the invasion in 1779. He had been a successful merchant, and in presenting in 1783 a claim for compensation, he estimated his income from his business at £200 per annum, and his total losses at over £8000, though this claim was eventually much reduced. It may be of interest to know that while a diligent business man at that date, of no special educational advantages, he owned a library of English and Latin books, valued at ten guineas; and also that he filed in support of his demands a certificate of loyalty, furnished in 1786 by his quondam fellow-townsmen, General Benedict Arnold,—which document praises him specifically for activity in providing guides and pilots for the expedition which Arnold himself had conducted against New London in 1781.

Captain Camp died in Nova Scotia soon after the adjudication of his claim. I should add that there were included in his company in exile a son, Abiathar Camp, Junior, who had entered Yale in 1773, but did not reach graduation, and who died in the Provinces at a great age in 1841; and also a son-in-law, Daniel Lyman, Junior, Yale 1770, a convert to the church, who became eventually a Major in the British army.

Besides the Episcopalians, there was one other minute group of less conspicuous sectarian Loyalists.

For local reasons Connecticut had never proved congenial soil for Quaker colonists; but about 1764 the disciples of Robert Sandeman, called Sandemanians, who imitated the Quakers in being conscientiously bound to a policy of passive resistance to war, and thus considered themselves obliged to remain loyal to King George, had gained a scanty foothold here, especially in Danbury and New Haven.

They were mostly of undistinguished social standing and small political influence. The best known of the group were Richard Woodhull, Yale 1752; Daniel Humphreys and Joseph Pynchon, Yale 1757; Titus Smith, Yale 1764; and Theophilus Chamberlain, Yale 1765.

Richard Woodhull, from Long Island, had been a favorite pupil of President Clap, and had therefore been employed to fill with rather indifferent success for seven or eight years a College tutorship. He remained, after his first conscientious protest, peaceably and inconspicuously in New Haven until his death. Daniel Humphreys, the ablest member of the company, was a son of the minister of Derby, and brother of General David Humphreys. He practiced law here, and also taught a private school of high grade; but removed by the close of the war to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he had a long and rather brilliant career at the bar. His classmate, Joseph Pynchon, from Springfield, had inherited a good estate, and lived in dignified leisure in Guilford, where he had married. After becoming a Sandemanian, he removed to New Haven, perhaps for religious privileges, but was made so uncomfortable here that he retired within the British lines, thus sacrificing a large portion of his estate. He returned a year or two after the peace to Guilford, and is to be remembered as the ancestor of well-known New Haven citizens and of President Pynchon, of Trinity College. Titus Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain, who were also of Massachusetts birth, had both done good service as missionaries among the Indians, and after their abandonment of Congregationalism were recognized as the preaching elders in charge of the obscure handful of Sandemanians in this city. Like Pynchon, they felt constrained to take refuge with the British, and they both ended their days in Halifax.

Aside from these whom I have enumerated, the next most notable company of Loyalist exiles from the New Haven township was the family circle of Joshua Chandler, Esquire, Yale 1747. He was a native of Woodstock, and a fellow-townsmen and first cousin of that stout Churchman, the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, Yale 1745, of New Jersey, who was active

just before the Revolution in promoting the scheme for an American Episcopate, and went later into exile as a Loyalist.

Joshua Chandler had adhered to the Congregational church, and had become a successful lawyer, with every worldly motive to prompt him to side with the popular current. His ample town-house, built early in the same decade (1760-70) with other notable old New Haven residences, on the site of the Tontine Hotel and the new Post-office, and thence removed in 1824 or 5, is now occupied by Mr. Henry B. Sargent. Like other well-to-do citizens of the day, Mr. Chandler had also bought extensive landed estate in the suburbs, and after 1765 lived principally on one of his farms in North Haven. In 1775, in the full tide of his professional and political reputation, as Justice of the Peace, Selectman, Deputy to the General Assembly, and Chairman of the town's Committee of Correspondence, he announced, from conscientious motives, his determined loyalty to King George, and accepted the consequent suspicion and obloquy. Four years later he left town with the British invaders, accompanied by his wife, a daughter of Joseph Miles, of New Haven, three daughters, and four sons. He had moved in the first circles in the community, and in letters sent back after his flight professed a strong affection for his native country; but the records of the London commissioners in 1783 who received his appeal for compensation quote his statement to them that he had remained so long as he did in the Colony, as thinking that he might thus be able to communicate essential information to General Tryon in his invasion, and in other ways to be of service to the home government. The property which he abandoned, to the estimated value of about £4000, was confiscated by the town, and he recovered compensation, covering three-fourths of that amount.

His eldest son (John Chandler, Yale 1772) alone remained here; but his career was blighted by the opprobrium of the family record. The second son, William Chandler, Yale 1773, had early espoused the British cause, and in 1777 raised a company in New York of over a hundred men for the King's service; and he and a younger brother earned infamy by aiding to pilot

the British in their invasion of New Haven. It is a satisfaction to know that he failed to secure an allowance from the government after the close of the war, except a paltry annual pension of £40; which was to cease, if he should be put on half-pay as a retired army-officer.

With the family went also Amos Botsford, Yale 1763, a son-in-law and a New Haven attorney, who stated frankly in his later application for compensation that he was obliged to flee on account of the odium arising from the action of his brothers-in-law as guides to the invaders. He claimed that he had abandoned property worth over £2500, including a library, chiefly of law-books, valued at £37 sterling; and that his annual professional income was about £600, of which he had been able to lay up on an average £225, after spending £375 for the support of his family, which included a wife and three children. He also testified that, when filing this application in Annapolis, his available income scarcely exceeded thirty guineas a year; and on this showing he was allowed an annual pension of £224.

There remain a few other names of notable New Haveners, who were temporarily or permanently disaffected. One such is that of Judge Thomas Darling, of Woodbridge, Yale 1740, a son-in-law of the Rev. Joseph Noyes, pastor of the First Church: a stubborn, cross-grained person, of strong convictions, unable on principle to accept without dispute the current arguments for renouncing British sovereignty, but judicious enough in the long run to restrain himself from fruitless opposition to the moral sense of the community in which his lot was cast. With him may be named his College classmate and pastor, the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, in whose honor, when the farmers of Amity Parish asked for town privileges, they preferred the name of Woodbridge—a sufficient proof that imperfect sympathy on the part of their old pastor with the new political order had not made any serious breach in the regard of his people.

The two classmates, Darling and Woodbridge, agreed also in their theological position, both being firm supporters of the Old-Light party, which some of the patriotic New Lights tried to discredit generally, as applying its conservatism to the political

field. But in fact disaffection was not limited, among the Congregational clergy, to the conservatives. Dr. John Smalley, of New Britain, Yale 1756, a leader of the new theology of the day, may serve as a typical instance of one who, starting from a reasoned policy of non-resistance, reprov'd at first the patriotic ardor of his flock, and was only slowly and laboriously converted to their point of view.

Within College walls sentiment was overwhelmingly on the side of the American cause. President Ezra Stiles, the typical broad-minded student of his generation, and strictly speaking neither a politician nor a theologian, had been from the first an outspoken patriot; and Professor Daggett's fearless, not to say foolhardy, exposure of his person is one of the best known incidents of the attack on New Haven. But, on the other hand, the only other permanent member of the Faculty, the Rev. Nehemiah Strong, the Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, who was by the way an Old Light in theology, was decidedly lukewarm in his support of revolution, and perhaps for this reason in part was provided so meagre a stipend that he found himself in the course of the struggle driven to resign his post.

The student body could naturally be counted on as enthusiastic for liberty, with a few marked exceptions: such, for instance, as John Jones, a native of Stratford, of the Class of 1776, who went directly from College into the British army; and Jared Mansfield, of New Haven, of the following class, a nephew of the Rev. Dr. Richard Mansfield, who after a lawless and broken College career, was among those inhabitants who remained passively in the town when the British troops took possession of it, and thus laid himself open to the charge of torvism. The public spirit and efficiency of his later career have redeemed the memory of his early vagaries.

One peculiarly interesting connection of Yale with the contending armies relates to the family of Dr. George Muirson, of Long Island, who spent his last years in New Haven, and had in early life taken a highly notable part in the promotion of inoculation for the small-pox in America. Himself a loyal Church-

man, two of his sons, graduates respectively in 1771 and 1776, fought in the war—the elder on the British and the younger on the American side,—an unparalleled instance in Yale or New Haven history. Besides at least one other line of New Haven descendants, a sister of these youths was the paternal grandmother of President Woolsey.

There were perhaps somewhat over a thousand Yale graduates in active life at the time of the Revolution, and it is a satisfactory evidence of their substantial agreement in sentiment that less than twenty-five, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, sided at once and permanently with the mother country and sought refuge in British territory or died in British military service; of this number the majority were employees of either the Crown or the Church of England.

Besides such of this brief list as have already been noticed, only some half dozen more of the Yale Loyalists were persons of any special distinction; and their record can be easily summarized.

There was, for instance, the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, of English birth, the son of that master builder who was brought to New Haven in 1717 to construct the original building named Yale College, and who through the marriage of a granddaughter into the Hillhouse family furnished a name for our (misspelt) Canner Street. Born in the Church of England, he entered her ministry in Fairfield, after his graduation in 1724, and proved so attractive a preacher that in 1747 he succeeded to the rectorship of the most conspicuous and aristocratic Episcopal congregation in New England, that of King's Chapel in Boston. When the Revolution came, in his old age, he accompanied the British on their evacuation of the town, and finally settled down in England in poverty and obscurity. His attested loss of an annual income of £200 was at length made up by an equivalent pension; and he attained a great age, which made him for eight years the oldest surviving graduate of Yale.

A second venerable Loyalist of prominence, who also attained the distinction of being the oldest living graduate, was David Ogden, of Newark, New Jersey. Class of 1728, the leading

lawyer of that Province, and a Judge of the Supreme Court. As early as January, 1777, his active sympathy with the British led him to seek the protection of the troops in New York and to receive honor there as a political counselor. Then followed exile in England, where he lived in pitiful illness and loneliness, on borrowed money, under the care of a servant, until on the representation of his losses he was given a pension of £200, which he relinquished, however, in extreme old age, to return to the asylum which he craved under the flag of the United States.

Of a younger generation was another eminent graduate, who was firm in conscientious opposition to the Revolution, William Smith the younger, the historian of the Province of New York, of the Class of 1745. As a lawyer he stood at the head of his profession for ability and integrity; and after he felt constrained to an attitude of neutrality, his advice in matters of law and policy was still sought by his former associates and freely given. Finally, when unable to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, he was driven into the British lines, where he was complimented with the titular rank of Chief Justice of New York, and after the peace with the real and valid appointment of Chief Justice of Canada.

Three years younger in College age was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, a native of Groton, who took orders in the Episcopal church, in which he had been reared. The approach of the Revolution found him stationed in Westchester, N. Y., on the Connecticut border, where he had already been extensively occupied as an anonymous pamphleteer in behalf of the claims of the Church of England, and in opposition to the union of the Colonies. In 1774 he printed, still anonymously, a series of remarkably able and even brilliant papers in criticism of the Continental Congress, the authorship of which he avowed in his appeals to the Commissioners for compensation in 1783, although contradictory statements over his signature are also alleged to exist. In November, 1775, he was seized and brought to New Haven by a posse of Connecticut soldiers, who resented his partisan activity, was paraded ignominiously through our streets, and was kept here under guard for a month. After his

release he took refuge within the British lines, and there received an appointment as Chaplain, from which he enjoyed to the end of his life a small half-pay pension. His later career, as the first Bishop of the American Episcopal Church, to which office he was chosen after the peace, while still in New York City, is too well known to need rehearsal.

Another graduate of high official standing who adhered to the British side was Judge Thomas Jones, of the New York Supreme Court, of the Class of 1750. He held court for the last time in April, 1776: and after repeated experiences of arrest and imprisonment for disaffection to the American cause, he embarked for England in 1781. In 1783 he estimated his losses at upwards of £14,000 sterling; and a small pension was assigned him, which he received until his death in 1792. He is now perhaps most generally remembered as the author of a bitterly partisan *History of New York during the Revolution*, which was published from his manuscript in 1879; in this work he refers to his *Alma Mater* as "then and still a nursery of sedition, faction and republicanism."

Another of the same group was Edmund Fanning, a native of Long Island, and a graduate of 1757. He settled as a lawyer in North Carolina, where he so won the favor of Governor Tryon as to become a trusted and influential factor in the public service. When Tryon was promoted in 1771 to the New-York governorship, Fanning went with him, and there also held important office. In 1776, as an ardent Loyalist, he raised and took command of a regiment, remaining in the field through the war. Later, as a reward for his fidelity, he was made successively Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia and of Prince Edward Island. He accompanied Tryon on his expedition for the invasion of New Haven, in 1779, and when soliciting an honorary degree from Yale a quarter of a century later claimed that through his intervention the College buildings were saved from pillage and destruction.

I have not as yet emphasized the admitted fact that a considerable minority of the business men of New Haven in these pre-Revolutionary days are credited with Tory proclivities; but

it is fair to remember that, however exasperating the differences in opinion may have been, there was no open scandal; and the vote in town-meeting in 1766, of 226 to 48 in favor of supporting the Colony officials in ignoring the Stamp Act, probably expresses about the usual strength of the two parties.

In any account of New Haven society, I should also mention that, after the trying experiences of the war were over, and the community had settled down again into its ordinary routine, the development of interests tended to consolidate, in their opposition to the older and more conservative elements, the greater part of the Episcopalians with the more venturesome commercial adventurers and the restless, drifting fringe of the population, who, with little at stake, were indifferent to hardly-won standards. These miscellaneous elements, the nucleus of the future Jeffersonians and Tolerationists, absorbed into their camp the remnants of the loyalist faction, and so conspicuous a part did these form that the whole group was often described as "Tories," and classed as not altogether well-affected to the Federal government. Thus, President Stiles, when he comments in his *Diary* on the inauguration of the City government in 1784, refers with evident asperity to the numerous Tory element—estimating one-third of the duly enrolled citizens as "hearty Tories," one-third as "Whigs," and one-third as "indifferent." Of the forty voters who are Episcopalians, he labels all as "Tories" but two, and includes from the same camp from twenty to thirty of the First-Church flock. The credulous President's figures may have been warped by gossip and prejudice; but at all events it is clear that thus early after the war a considerable weight in public affairs was conceded to the party which embraced the former Loyalists, in whom—so far as local traditions show—there was no pretence of reversion to dead issues, but a healthy and active interest in helping to work out the adaptation of the familiar conditions of life in our old democratic Colony to a new set of responsibilities and obligations in the Union of independent States.

THE REV. HARRY CROSWELL, D.D., AND HIS DIARY.

By FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, LITT.D.

[Read January 17, 1916.]

I have long been accustomed to count it a matter of peculiar good fortune that my personal recollections of New Haven go back so far as to include a living impression of almost every one of that group of notable men who were the conspicuous figures in this community at the middle of the last century.

And inasmuch as at my coming here in 1857 I took rooms on College Street, at the corner of Crown, it is natural that one of the most distinct in that panorama of stately personages who were then just passing off the stage was the Rev. Dr. Croswell, as I was accustomed to see him almost daily on his walks to and from his house, half way down the next block, on Crown Street.

These glimpses of him, in his long cloak and top boots, joined with the companion picture of his deliberate march up and down the central aisle of Trinity Church in full canonicals, have left with me a striking image of dignified and venerable age, not melancholy and forlorn as that of his somewhat older neighbor, Ex-President Day, but distinctly suggestive of active kindliness and of watchful human sympathy, not altogether crushed and broken by the labors and sorrows of almost eighty years.

Harry Croswell, the seventh of eight children of Caleb and Hannah (Kellogg) Croswell, of West Hartford, Connecticut, was born in June, 1778. His father was a native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and his mother of West Hartford, where the family lived in humble circumstances.

He was bred as a Congregationalist, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Nathan Perkins, a graduate of Princeton Col-

lege, who was settled in that suburban parish for two-thirds of a century.

Noah Webster, the lexicographer, was also a native and early resident of West Hartford; and Harry Croswell at the age of eleven lived for one winter as errand-boy in Mr. Webster's family, receiving help in his lessons in partial return for his services.

After leaving school he became a clerk in a country store in Warren, in Litchfield County, but soon migrated to Catskill, N. Y., to learn the printer's art from an older brother, who was also one of the proprietors of a weekly newspaper, *The Catskill Packet*.

While thus occupied, he ventured to send occasional anonymous contributions to that sheet, which led to the recognition of his promise as a writer, and finally to his instalment in the editorial chair.

In August, 1800, he was married to Susan Sherman, a native of New Haven, of a family long identified with Centre Church, who since the death of her parents was living in Catskill in the family of an older brother.

A few months later he removed across the river to the flourishing city of Hudson, where he established, in May, 1801, in partnership with Ezra Sampson, a Yale graduate, and a retired Congregational minister, an independent weekly newspaper, of high character, called *The Balance*, which soon attained a fair circulation, and is still esteemed by students of that period for its exceptional literary excellence. Mr. Sampson was a practiced essayist, and Mr. Croswell's own contributions included frequent poetical efforts, as well as a constant supply of prose material, especially in the political field. During the most of his editorial career he also conducted a bookselling business; and for a short time held the rank of Lieutenant in the State Militia.

In the summer of 1802 he undertook further the publication of a small occasional sheet, called *The Wasp*, which was designed by the Federalists of Hudson as an antidote to *The Bee*, a Democratic paper just begun there: of *The Wasp* only twelve numbers were issued.

His senior partner withdrew from *The Balance* at the end of 1803; and early in 1804 some of the Democratic State-leaders resolved to crush Mr. Croswell, in consequence of articles which he had published reflecting severely on President Jefferson. He was made defendant in several libel cases, founded on matter which had appeared in *The Balance* and the defunct *Wasp*; and the courts being controlled by his opponents, he was heavily mulcted, beyond his ability to pay. One of these suits gained special renown from the appearance of Alexander Hamilton, then at the zenith of his career, as one of the volunteer counsel of Mr. Croswell, and his delivery of a masterly argument in defence of the liberty of the press, only five months before his tragic death.

At the close of 1808, Mr. Croswell ventured, unwisely, to transfer the office of his paper to Albany, where, however, he failed to receive the party support of which he had been assured. His advertising patronage was also very meagre, his subscription-list small, and multiplied libel suits continued to harass him. A climax was reached in the Spring of 1811, when one of his creditors, who was a leading Federalist, obtained a judgment against him for a small debt which he could not discharge, and for three or four months he was obliged to edit his paper while confined within jail limits. Cut to the quick by what he felt to be gross disloyalty on the part of a representative of the party for which he had done and suffered so much, he announced that the *Balance* would suspend publication at the end of the current year, expressing frankly also his disgust at the falseness and desertion of his Federalist patrons, in such terms that he was understood to renounce his former associations, and was even suspected of a purpose of joining the Democrats. In fact, he never again attended a political meeting (unless as a clerical duty), or exercised his rights as a voter; his revulsion from Federalism was so entire, that in later life his tacit sympathy was evidently with the Democratic party.

Early in 1812 he conformed to the Episcopal Church, receiving baptism in July, and confirmation a week later at the hands of Bishop Hobart.

He was then led to consider the claims of the Christian ministry, and after a hasty preparation, under the direction of a young clergyman then boarding with him, the Rev. Timothy Clowes, who was rector of St. Peter's Church, he was ordained Deacon in St. John's Church, New York City, by Bishop Hobart, on May 8, 1814, being then nearly 36 years of age; and when we recall that for upwards of ten years he had been prominent in the public eye as the strenuously combative editor of a violently partisan journal in Hudson and the vicinity, it is a remarkable tribute to the respect inspired by his character that on the first Sunday after his ordination he assumed charge of Christ Church in Hudson.

While thus engaged, having occasion to visit New Haven during the ensuing summer on family business, he was invited, on a sudden emergency, to conduct the services for a single Sunday in Trinity Church, at the time when the Rector, the Rev. Henry Whitlock, a Williams College graduate, of about Mr. Croswell's age, was prostrated with a fatal illness.

Mr. Whitlock's resignation was received in October, and on the same day Mr. Croswell was invited to fill his place, with an annual salary of \$1000, the same that he was receiving in Hudson. The chairman of the committee of notification was the venerable Dr. Eneas Munson, an uncle of Mrs. Croswell.

The offer was especially tempting, for the sake of the four sons to whose education he was looking forward, and as restoring his wife to the companionship of a large circle of relatives. Accordingly, his acceptance followed, and he began his long ministry here on Sunday, January 1, 1815.

At that date the Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, eight years younger than Mr. Croswell, had been for three years pastor of the First Congregational Church; and the Rev. Samuel Merwin, who was but three years Mr. Croswell's junior, had been settled over the United Church for ten years. The new First Church, or the "Middle Brick," as it soon began to be called, a name changed by a later and more fastidious generation to the "Centre Church," had been dedicated on the previous Tuesday; and the North Church then building was ready for dedication in the

following December. Dr. Dwight was the President of Yale College, and pastor of the College Church, but was soon prostrated under the painful disease which ended his life two years later.

Mr. Croswell was domiciled in a hired house on the east side of Orange Street, just above Crown; and the Trinity Church of that day, on the east side of Church Street (which was named from this location), and a little below Chapel Street, was an old wooden structure, with long round-topped windows, doors, vestibules, and inside entrances, which had undergone successive enlargements since it was built, 60 years before, but was so inadequate for the accommodation of the perhaps 130 families of New Haven and vicinity who made up the parish, that already, in the previous May, the corner-stone had been laid of a new stone church, on the Public Green, of which Ithiel Town was the architect.

Five months after his arrival, Mr. Croswell was admitted to Priest's orders by Bishop Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese. Bishop Jarvis, of Connecticut, having died in 1813; and in February, 1816, he was instituted into the rectorship, on the day after the new church, which was heralded as the first attempt at Gothic in church-building in New England, and one of the largest structures for that purpose in America, was duly consecrated.

A large increase in the numbers of the congregation followed at once, and from the standing of Trinity Parish in the diocese, Mr. Croswell held from the first a position of avowed leadership: as was shown in particular by his being mainly responsible for directing attention to a clergyman of near his own age, the Rev. Thomas Church Brownell, of the New York diocese, who was elected Bishop of Connecticut in 1818.

In April, 1821, when he was in his 43d year, and had lived in New Haven for six years, he began to keep a Diary, which he continued until his death, in 1858, and which exhibits a remarkable record of individual activity, and of the shrewd comments of a critical observer on persons and events within his daily experience. The whole amounts to nearly 5000 pages of manuscript, written in a beautifully minute and uniform hand.

With reference to this document it should be remembered that the author wrote and acted under certain obvious limitations. Embarrassed, perhaps not altogether consciously, by his lack of College and ministerial training, and wholly without those intimate associations with his contemporaries which naturally accompany such training, he felt ill at ease in the Yale atmosphere, and chose to keep aloof from the friendly advances made by gentlemen of the College, and to confine his social relations almost exclusively to the families of his own parish. The honorary degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him at Yale in 1817, without any apparent effect on his feelings.

Embittered also by his experience in the political arena, he assumed from the first an attitude of reserve and suspicion towards those of differing faith or practice, which tended to induce and to aggravate similar feeling and action on their part. His conception of his duty to Church principles prevented easy or natural relations with dissenters, so that much of the best which other newcomers found here was to him, from his own choice, under the ban, and the stimulus of friendly contact and sympathy in intellectual pursuits was so far denied him.

These limitations, on the other hand, made the concentration of his powers on the daily round of direct pastoral effort more and more amazingly effective. He did little reading, beyond current newspapers and Church periodicals, and after the first few years found the composition of fresh discourses somewhat irksome; but outside of his study, the incessant and varied demands of a large parish were full of absorbing interest and inspiration. He made it a rule, in his own language, "never to suffer anything to interfere with pastoral duty"; and the record of days without number is completely filled with the recital, not merely of more strictly ministerial acts, such as baptisms, funerals, and marriages, but of an exhausting round of visits to the sick, the afflicted, and the needy, among his own parishioners, as well as to many who were uncared for by any other agency. His house was also a centre of hospitality and of service. He enjoyed informal social intercourse, and until hampered by age and infirmity was a familiar and welcome figure in the homes of his people, as they in his.

On the other hand, formal gatherings of a fashionable sort were distasteful to him, as might be shown by many extracts from his Diary like the following:—

“July 9, 1844. At 9 P. M. went to Mrs. Keese’s, where Mrs. Croswell had spent the evening. Found a large and disagreeable party there, and after enduring the customary hardships on such occasions until $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten, came home, and made a new mental resolution—not to get caught so again.”

“December 3, 1844. Took tea and spent the evening at Mrs. Ingersoll’s, with a small party—pleasant enough, but the time thrown away.”

Akin to such feelings was his strong disinclination to appear in public on any show-occasion, unless required by his duty as a clergyman. One instance out of many may illustrate this:—

“October 9, 1821. This being the day assigned for the Agricultural Fair and Cattle Show, I was solicited by the Committee of Arrangement to join in the procession, and attend on the exercises at the meeting house, and afterwards to dine with the Society. It was a great sacrifice of feeling and convenience—but I attended. The clergy who attended were Baldwin, of Stratford, Taylor, congregationalist, Hill, baptist, and Fitch, professor of divinity in Yale College. Proceeded from the front of the Court house, around the square, to the North Meeting-House—where we were foisted into the pulpit with the orator, Burrage Beach, Esq., of Cheshire. Taylor read a psalm—and then made a prayer. Then followed the oration. Then Hill read a psalm, and delivered a prayer of very handsome composition, which some friend, probably Abraham Bishop, had prepared to his hand. Then he read another psalm—and thus ended this part of the cattle-show. We were next dragged in procession to Hillhouse’s Avenue to see the oxen, &c.—and after this we were conducted to the dinner table—and by the time the fare was over, it was past 4 o’clock. For my part, I felt tired and ashamed of the whole business.”

And this extract illustrates perhaps as clearly the author’s striking modesty, a crowning manifestation of which is dis-

played in his record of the Commencement at Washington, now Trinity, College in 1831, with its entire omission of any reference to the fact that one incident of the occasion was his own reception of the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

A kindred instance of unaffected humility is this entry of March 29, 1822:—

“The Bishop [Dr. Brownell] called towards evening, with a prospectus for his Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer—wishing me to look it over and correct it! It is really a great trial to my feelings to have such a thing occur; but I endeavored not to discover anything of the kind. I took the manuscript, and actually suggested two or three verbal alterations, which the Bishop readily adopted.”

From almost any page of this voluminous record it would be possible to select a specimen day in illustration of his unremitting routine labors in the direct line of professional duty. Any single example of this sort may be unimpressive; but the cumulative effect of such a lifelong chronicle of unwearied devotion and self-sacrifice is unquestionable and overwhelming. I quote as the record of only a part of an ordinary day's occupations, this extract from his entry for Monday, April 20, 1835:—

“Rose early. Spent an hour before breakfast in making entries in Parish Register, Journal, &c. After the morning errands, commenced my round of duty by visiting and praying with Dr. Elijah Monson's wife. Then called at Mr. O'Neil's to see Grace JACOBS, who is here on a visit. Then called to see Julia Deforest, who, being confined by slight lameness, is turning her attention, and apparently with much interest to the subject of religion. . . . P. M. Recommenced my round of duty. Called a moment to see the bride, Mrs. Granger. Then took a long pull, and visited and prayed with Mr. Thorp and wife, who are both sick in one room with typhus fever. [I believe on the corner of State & Bradley sts.] This is the extremest part of the town on the North. Stopped a moment at J. Ball's. Then visited Mary Ann Bradley, whose case, I fear, is beginning to wear a threatening aspect. Next, visited and

prayed with Harriet Fitch, who is declining rapidly. Next, visited and prayed with S. J. Clarke's children, both dangerously sick. Called on Mr. Dykeman, H. W. Brintnall, and Dr. Robertson. Got caught in an April shower, and on coming home found plenty of company, who had also got caught. Miss Gilbert, and Miss Macbeth and Miss Ogden staid to tea. In the evening was called to marry Benjamin D. Norris."

With respect to the demands made upon him, it should be noted that he served not merely as a spiritual counselor, but placed all his faculties and capacities at the command of his people. As the Diary testifies, he was often called on, for instance, to draft a new will, to write a troublesome business letter, to make peace with an unruly servant, to plan a new house, or a new church, or even to make a perverse chimney draw.

In some cases it may be difficult to decide whether the author of a diary wrote solely for his own eye, or whether he contemplated the possibility of his words becoming public. In the present case, there can be, I think, no doubt that Dr. Croswell's original object was solely to register, as an aid to memory, the consecutive performance of professional duty, without thought of other readers. We may ask, then, if the record should have been preserved, and if it should be a subject of public analysis and criticism. But as neither the writer nor his surviving children expressed any wish to the contrary, when the decision lay wholly in their hands, and as his last descendant died nearly half a century ago, it seems clear that the settlement of such questions was willingly left to the discretion of those on whom the responsibility might fall.

Meantime, some things are certain. Least of all would Dr. Croswell have shrunk from entire frankness in any exposition of the quality of his churchmanship and his relations with representatives of other Christian bodies.

He would be described, I suppose, as a typical example of the old school of Connecticut High Churchmen, sharply distrustful of the Broad Church attitude of Dr. Muhlenberg and Dr. Har-

wood, and equally out of sympathy with the Low Churchmanship of Bishops Bedell and Eastburn and Dr. Tyng.

He was inflexibly loyal to the Prayer Book; and such exceptional variations as that noted in the following passage from the Diary are therefore the more remarkable.

“April 4, 1822. Was called to attend the funeral of Isaac Basset’s child, the methodist minister being out of town. All strong methodists—so I wore no gown—used an extempore prayer at the house—and accommodated myself as far as possible to their feelings, without departing from any positive rule of the Church.”

An incident which merits comparison with this is given under

“February 28, 1828. The funeral of Mr. Sherman [a brother of Mrs. Croswell] was attended in the afternoon. I performed the whole service. After returning to the house, I invited old Mr. Stebbins [of West Haven], who had attended as a mourner, on account of the relationship of his wife to Mrs. Sherman, to pray with the family. The old gentleman, though a Congregational clergyman, knelt down and made a very consistent prayer, closing with the Lord’s Prayer. The kneeling and Lord’s Prayer would have been considered by a man more bigoted, as too much of a compliance with church-customs.”

Compare, also, with these another funeral entry, which, if unique in his own case, must have had parallels elsewhere:—

“Sunday, November 15, 1835. After afternoon service hastened down to the Chapel, to attend the funeral of young Murphy. . . . Mr. Bennett performed the service at the Chapel—and I performed all that was done at the grave, but as it had become so dark, that I could not distinguish a letter, I dare not venture on the Collect from memory.”

As has been said already, Dr. Croswell found the writing of sermons a burden; and judging from the serial numbers attached to his discourses, he seems during a ministry of nearly 44 years to have made on the average a new sermon only once in about three weeks. His Diary reveals great ingenuity also in

the adaptation of old material to new uses. Witness such entries as these:—

“Friday, December 4, 1829. [15 years after ordination.] Tried, in vain, to set myself about sermons—but finally was obliged to select two from my old stock, of which the number is so large, and embracing so many topics, that I find it difficult to strike out a new one.”

“Saturday, February 25, 1832. Not having time to finish a sermon, resorted to my pigeon-holes, and found a substantial old sermon, which had not been preached in eight years. Let them remember this, if they can.”

“Saturday, May 5, 1832. Went to work in the morning, and took an old sermon, and ripped off the collar and wristbands—that is, rigged it out with a new text, introduction, and conclusion, and intend to try it to-morrow.”

“May 21, 1848. My sermon, which I had substantially re-written from an old one, with three convertible texts, to adapt it to Advent, Epiphany, or Easter, was now designed partly as a missionary sermon, and seemed to take very well.”

Once he enlarges on his method of composition:—

“January 11, 1822. In the evening transcribed a few pages into my sermon, which I had composed in the course of the afternoon. This is a labour to which I have always subjected myself—composing first in a very small hand, on small scraps and slips of paper, and afterwards transcribing into the notes from which I deliver, and which are always written in a fair, though rather small hand, and broken up into sentences, and parts of sentences, to assist the eye in the delivery. This last peculiarity has excited the curiosity of such of my brethren of the clergy as have noticed it: but they don’t seem to understand it—and for one of the plainest reasons in the world:—their sermons have no points, nor are the sentences so formed as to admit of any regular division of their members. . . . I designed the plan, because I knew my inability to write without emendations—and I cannot bear to see a manuscript full of erasures, alterations, and interlineations. Sermons written *offhand* are apt to be slovenly in

their style—and they are as much *extempore* sermons, as if they were preached without notes. It is my aim to *finish* my sermons, as much as my great and arduous labors will permit.”

There is little in the Diary which bears upon the teaching in his sermons. He was not given to speculation, and his daily record is occupied with practical and external data,—least of all with theological investigation, or self-examination. Comments on the sermons of others are frequent, and not always favorable, but such sidenotes as the following, with reference to his own mode of thought, are unusual:—

“Sunday, September 18, 1825. Mr. Shelton preached three times. He writes handsomely, and preaches impressively—but his sermons have no spice of gospel spirit. He urges *obedience*, and inculcates the necessity of *faith*—but not one word of *repentance*. In his evening sermon he told of every way of *coming to God*, but the right one (with a penitent and broken heart and contrite spirit).”

His theoretical attitude towards his neighbors who were outside the pale of the Church, is expressed in the following extract:—

“Tuesday, May 1, 1821. In the evening held my regular lecture at the Orange-Street school room, and spoke on Christian unity, principally with a view of pointing out the absurdity of attempting to harmonize the different denominations of Christians, by drawing them into mixed meetings of laymen, to hear lay-preachers. Recommended the *unity of spirit*, without hoping, in the present state of the world, to produce unity of sentiment.” His method, however, of illustrating the “unity of spirit” in practice was not specially calculated to promote the object, as may be gathered from the following out of numerous descriptions in his Journal of services conducted by nonconformists:—

“November 17, 1824. Having been invited by President Day to attend the dedication of the new College Chapel—went at 2

o'clock. It was rather a singular exhibition. They first sang an anthem—not in the best style. Having no female voices, the treble solos were murdered in cold blood. Then President Day read some scattered verses from the Psalms—in bad shape, without any qualification. Then Professor Fitch made a short hobbling prayer—in worse style than either of the other performances. Then another anthem was sung, decently. Then Professor Fitch delivered a dull, cold, labored sermon, in wretched style. Then President Day made a tolerable prayer. And last, the choir sung a diddling hymn—and Professor Fitch ended with a sort of benediction.”

Again, while visiting at the house of the Rector of St. John's Church, in Providence, “June 15, 1822. Mr. Crocker asked me to attend a prayer-meeting of Mr. Maffitt's (the strolling Irish methodist), in the lecture-room of Mr. Wilson's (congregational) meeting-house. I declined—but finding the family all on a tip-toe to go—I changed my mind and went. This lecture-room is the underground story of a very large meeting-house—the ceiling low—the walls and floor dirty—the whole very dark—and the air close and offensive. Into this den an immense crowd followed the miserable adventurer, who had set the town agog by his vapid attempts to preach the gospel. People of wealth and fashion, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, were here huddled together. The desk was occupied by Maffitt, Mr. Taft, minister of the Episcopal Church at Patucket, a young baptist preacher, and a methodist preacher. This prayer-meeting was opened with a hymn, which was followed by a short exhortation from Maffitt. Then he sang a song, of his own composition, tune and all, alone, in a soft, sweet strain which seemed to produce a wonderful effect upon his female auditors, who languished as he languished and responded sighs to his sweet notes. Then Maffitt prayed in the language of the liturgy, for a few minutes. Then he sang again. Then the baptist exhorted, the methodist prayed, Maffitt sang, and the rest joined him. He closed with another exhortation, and a hymn, in true methodist style—and thus ended a prayer-meeting, in a cellar,

attended by the Rector of St. John's Church, Providence, and his lady, the Rev. Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Brown University, in episcopal orders, and the Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, who blushes to his fingers' ends on his recording this instance of his departing from a conscientious sense of duty, from mere complaisance to the good people with whom he staid." Again,

"March 9, 1825. Having received an invitation to attend the ceremony of installing the Rev. Leonard Bacon over the first congregational society in this city—went to the meeting-house at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10. Service commenced at 11. Sermon, by Mr. Hawes, very good. Charge, by Mr. Taylor, very bad. Right hand of fellowship, by Mr. Merwin, no better. Singing flat. Was invited to dinner, but had to attend a funeral."

Then, two weeks later, "March 22, 1825. Called to see Mr. Bacon, the new congregational minister of the 1st Society in this city. He is, to all appearance, a pleasant young man—but, I should think, unequal to the task which he has undertaken. Time will show."

Again, ten years later, "June 3, 1835. Went to Captain Goodrich's, by invitation, to see his daughter married by Mr. Bacon to Frederick Uhlhorn. A splendid wedding. After the ceremony, took my cake and wine, and then took my leave, as, I had no desire to meet the throng of company invited at a later hour. Mr. Bacon has improved the mode of conducting a marriage, since I have witnessed one, as performed in the Presbyterian way. But it is still a meagre service."

"July 10, 1829. At 3 P. M. went by invitation to the Dedication of the new congregational meeting-house [on Court Street]. It was a shabby concern—all the exercises being meagre and spiritless, with the exception of the sermon by Mr. Bacon, which was probably none of *his* best. President Day began by reading a portion of scripture, gathered partly from the Chronicles, and partly from Solomon's dedication prayer, but without any intimation from whence he was reading. It was all continued on, as if nothing intervened—and Solomon's prayer was used

with omissions, till he got to the middle—and then he stopped, and gave out a hymn of eight verses. This being all sung out, with the congregation sitting—Professor Fitch made one of his long hitching prayers, with no other difference, only that he began by substituting a wretched imitation of Dr. Barber's drawling for his native grunt [Dr. Barber being a teacher of elocution]. This was followed by another singing, and the sermon—and then another prayer, by a strange clergyman, and another hymn. The main body of the house was filled with ladies, the galleries with men and boys, the platform under the pulpit with deacons—one of whom slept quietly through the whole concern, in which exercise he was devoutly followed by more than one of the fair sex—and I could not blame them. About five ministers were in the pulpit—which Professor Fitch was particular to dedicate, together with the seats,—but nothing else."

"May 10, 1821. Passed round to the North-West corner of the Green, where the Methodists were laying the corner-stone of their new meeting-house [on the Green]. Like a presbyterian dedication, it was a formless jumble of exercises, consisting of singing three hymns, making a prayer, and delivering an address, all carried on by their minister, Mr. Thatcher. The corner-stone, however, instead of being the top of the corner, was the first stone laid in the foundation, several feet under ground! On this stone, and in this awkward situation, the little minister performed his several parts—speaking, not as out of a tub, but as if immersed in a cistern—the people standing in the deep trenches, or on the banks, or on the piles of lumber and stone with which the place was encumbered. He discharged the office, however, with a considerable degree of propriety—and with a zeal and enthusiasm peculiar to his sect. The Methodists had been violently opposed by the Presbyterians in their project of erecting this house in so public a place—but this had in no wise disheartened them; and their opponents, finding force ineffectual, had resorted to softer means, and had finally offered them a sum of money, say about \$1200, to induce them to select a more retired spot. This was resented, and the work

pushed with renewed ardor. The house will stand within two or three hundred feet of the Meeting-House of the United Society, and about an equal distance from the dwelling-house of the President of Yale College. No wonder, therefore, that the Presbyterians are opposed to the erection."

Without further multiplication of such passages, I pass to other phases of his disapproval of the manifestations of sectarian activity.

"July 19, 1821. Abigail Heaton called to talk with me on the subject of her joining a missionary family to go to the Sandwich Islands (one among the latest of the sectarian schemes). She is an excellent, pious, and warm-hearted girl, who has been persuaded by the arts of Presbyterians to believe, that it is her duty to sacrifice herself to the visionary object of civilizing and then Christianizing the natives of these islands. The plain English of the business is—that a number of indigent young men have been gratuitously educated by the Presbyterians for the purpose of going on foreign missions. But, timid souls, the terrors of such a mission as their employers demand are too great, unless the girls will go with them! . . . Lord help us! what are we coming to? As Miss Heaton is a fine girl, and a very worthy communicant of the Church, . . . I am satisfied that it is my duty to endeavour to rescue her from the snare thus laid for her by a set of men, possessing more than Jesuitical cunning."

"April 25, 1822. Spent the evening at Mr. Heaton's, where there was half a dozen of their friends. Here I was informed of another of the ten thousand schemes which are invented to draw Churchmen into allegiance with schismatics. Mrs. Heaton had been invited by the Presbyterian ladies to join them in a society for converting the Jews! When will this shameful ostentation cease?"

"July 11, 1823. Attended a meeting of a few gentlemen at Hitchcock's office, at the request of Judge White, for the purpose of making some arrangements for re-organizing a Bible Society, auxiliary to the National Bible Society. Found Theodore

Dwight from New York, President Day, Mr. Merwin, Mr. Luckey, and Judge White, besides Mr. Hitchcock. Dwight asserted that agents were coming from New York to attend to the business, and wished a meeting to be notified on Tuesday evening next, in the newspapers and in the pulpits. He pretended that Dr. Lyell [a New York rector] was coming among the agents. Having seen the pill well sugared over in this way, I very deliberately entered into an explanation of my reasons for declining to promote the object, either directly or indirectly, grounded generally upon the impropriety of attempting to amalgamate religious denominations, &c."

Other passages show how the author allowed his surmises of sectarian politics and of mixed motives to govern him also in the field of humanitarian effort.

"December 13, 1829. Preached my new re-written sermon, on intolerance and bigotry, from Romans xiv. 4, 'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant,' &c. It had been preached for the last time twelve years ago—and as I altered the text and the matter, nobody dreamed of its being re-written—especially as it was supposed to have a bearing on certain transactions now in progress. The Congregationalists have entered into a combination to denounce and proscribe every man, woman, and child, who will not subscribe to the total abstinence system."

"June 8, 1855. A young man came, to get subscribers for Maine-law publications, and gave me an opportunity to express my opinions on the whole fanatical concern."

"January 8, 1830. Wrote a note to Professor Goodrich, declining his invitation to attend a meeting to be held this evening at the 'Middle Brick', to get up a fever about the Georgia Indians [that is, for the protection of the Cherokees in retaining their lands]. . . . [Added later:] A large meeting assembled, as I understand; and Professor Goodrich took occasion to say, that there was no political motive in the business; it was a grand Christian scheme, &c."

"June 22, 1854. Had all sorts of calls in the morning. Among others, a black man seeking aid to buy his family, out of

slavery, into poverty and misery. Treated him kindly, and sent him to the abolitionists."

"July 24, 1855. Spent a portion of the forenoon, in preparing a brief and pungent reply to the circular received yesterday from the New England Emigrant Aid Company, to be enclosed in an envelope, already stamped, and directed to Rev. E. E. Hale, of Worcester. An impudent attempt to draw me into a political crusade against the admission of Kansas, &c."

As a contrast to the picture quoted above, of a corner-stone service by Methodists, I cite the description of the ceremony, eight years later, when what we know as St. Paul's Church was begun:—

"Saturday, April 8, 1829. A fine day—and a proud and splendid day for the Churchmen of New Haven. The Corner-stone of the new Chapel was to be laid in the afternoon—and a considerable part of the forenoon was taken up in preparation. Opened Trinity Church at 1 o'clock, and admitted the Sunday-School. The congregation collected at 2. Mr. Hawks [the assistant minister] read a selection of service for the occasion, highly appropriate. A procession was then formed—Sunday-School first—singers—Wardens and Vestry—Building Committee—Contractors—Clergy—Officiating Clergy—and then citizens, etc., a street full. The clergy of other denominations had been invited—and a part of them attended, with President Day at their head. On coming to the foundation of the new chapel, Psalms selected were read in appropriate responses—then a Hymn sung—then the stone was laid by me—then Mr. Hawks read a prayer—and I closed with a spirited address, which the puritans won't forget in a hurry."

For sixteen years St. Paul's Chapel was administered in conjunction with Trinity Church by the Rector and his assistants; and it was only after a long and hard-fought struggle, in which Dr. Croswell was worsted, that an independent church was organized. The Diary for March 23, 1845, tells the result:—"Pleasant as the day was . . . it had many painful associations, for to-morrow the parish meeting is to decide the ques-

tion on the division of the parish—and doubtless in favor of the suicidal measure.”

The error in the gloomy prophecy of the last words recalls an earlier instance of similar perverseness, respecting the destiny of what is now Trinity College, which Dr. Croswell had tried hard to secure for New Haven:—

“May 6, 1824. The Trustees of Washington College met in New Haven this day, and after some discussion, fixed the location of that Institution in Hartford—a location which will probably prove fatal to the interests of the institution.”

These instances of defeated plans suggest what was Dr. Croswell's outstanding fault of temperament, and none the less so, although, so far as the Diary reveals, it was one of which he was utterly unconscious. While gracious and affable in ordinary intercourse, he showed himself in more serious matters of policy, where opinions differed, strong-willed, self-sufficient, and autocratic, particularly in official relations with his assistants and his vestry, and was often unjust and severe in his reflections on those who were not willingly subservient to his purposes.

He had a genuine interest in the prosperity of New Haven; but was chary, doubtless from convictions of duty, of giving public expression to his views on any local measure which might possibly make differences in the parish through sectarian or political controversy, while at the same time indulging in the freest criticism on the pages of his Diary. An early specimen of such criticism occurs in his notes on the removal of the stones from the old burying-ground, in the centre of the public Green, in 1821:—

“May 22. Amid the cares and duties which necessarily devolve upon me, it is my lot to be vexed and troubled with the endless schemes of sectarians to draw me into responsibilities which may affect my popularity and diminish my usefulness. Some time last season, a scheme was set on foot to get rid of the monuments and grave stones in the old burying-ground. It being a very tender subject, the promoters of the scheme were

under the necessity of proceeding cautiously—and they accordingly caused a town-meeting to be called, and a committee was appointed to propose plans to effect the object. I cannot recollect the course which the affair took in all its details—but the result was, the appointment of a committee to carry a certain plan into effect. I heard a rumor at the time, that all the clergymen of the city were placed on that committee, for the purpose of giving a sanction to the proposed measure. But I received no notice of the appointment, nor was I called upon to meet with them. Last week, however, a notice appeared in the newspapers, stating that this committee being now ready to proceed to the removal, would delay till the 20th of the month, to give to any person so disposed, an opportunity to remove the tombstones or remains of their friends to their private lots in the new burying-ground. At the same time, Abraham Bishop, Esq., called upon me with an address which he had written to be delivered at one of the meeting-houses on the occasion of the removal, and which he wished me to peruse and return to him this day. He partially disclosed the scheme—and common report furnished me with the rest. The committee, it seems, consisted of James Hillhouse, Esq., Abraham Bishop, Esq., William Mix, Esq., and the four clergymen of the city—that is, one Churchman, two Congregationalists, and one Methodist—the laymen of the Committee being all Congregationalists. This committee, or in other words Mr. Hillhouse, by the help of Mr. Bishop, had agreed to purchase of the said Mr. Hillhouse a piece of waste land, near the new burying-grounds in the suburbs of the town, at a most enormous price [\$280 an acre] and to cause all the remaining gravestones to be removed thither, and set up in the ground in due order, about a mile from the place where the bodies were deposited! . . . To a project so ridiculous it only remained to obtain the sanction of the ministers, and then the projectors flattered themselves that everything would go down smoothly with the people—a calculation too often made with great success. I resolved, however, to improve the first opportunity that had been afforded me, of washing my hands of any participation in the measure. I stood alone, as the sole representative of the

largest religious society in town,—I had no concern in the affair,—had no connections in the burying-ground—and had a very unfavorable opinion of the plan.”

Again, a month later, “June 26. At 8 o’clock in the morning, the bells began to ring for the grand parade of removing the old burying-ground—that is, for preparing the public mind for the removal of the grave-stones. The people assembled at Mr. Taylor’s meeting-house, and a course of services were performed in this wise.—Singing—prayer by Mr. Merwin, giving a detailed account of many things of which he supposed the people were ignorant, but of which he could not have supposed the Being whom he affected to address was ignorant—singing again—and then Mr. Hill, the baptist minister, performed the dignified office of reading Mr. Bishop’s address. He strutted in his borrowed plumes, and put on such a pompous air as to render this part of the exhibition ridiculous. He was followed by Mr. Thatcher, the methodist minister, who laid out the ground for a long extempore address—but observing, before he was half through with his exordium, that the people were withdrawing, he very abruptly broke off. . . . After singing once more, Mr. Taylor made the concluding prayer. Mr. Hillhouse, with some hired labourers, now proceeded to the burying-ground, and began to pull down the old grave-stones, and the work is to proceed until they are all removed. These circumstances are detailed by others, for, instead of being present, I visited Nancy Bonticou, &c.”

I may trespass on your time to add a few other notes relating to special localities or more general incidents.

“September 9, 1825. . . . Stopped a moment at Mrs. Sanford’s. . . . Walked on, it being a delightful morning, taking the powder-house road [*i. e.*, Prospect Street] till I came to the forest about Hillhouse’s avenue—crossed the avenue which I now saw in its whole extent for the first time.” He probably refers to the view from the cleared space on which the Hillhouse mansion was built a little later; the avenue itself had long been known.

"May 6, 1826. This day the canal-commissioners decided on the route of the Canal through the city, taking the middle or Creek-route—a question which has excited much interest in the town." Two other routes had been especially talked of,—one issuing through Brewery Street to Long Wharf, and one coming out next to Tomlinson's Bridge.

"February 19, 1828. Towards noon it was announced that the Canal was full of water—and at 3 in the afternoon a boat was put afloat, and was lifted up all the locks in town, passing through the whole length of the Canal to the basin of Mr. Hill-house, and returning to the last level. The crowd to witness this first exhibition was immense, and filled the town with joy, the bells rang, cannons fired, &c."

"March 18, 1839. Was called to visit a poor sick woman at Barnesville [*i. e.* Fair Haven], and just as I left her the Steam Boat arrived, and I stopped to see for the first time the train of railroad cars start off. It was but a small train, but it went off in good style." Daily trains had been running from New Haven to Meriden since the 1st of January.

His first embarkation on a railroad had been three and a half years earlier, in New York City, when he wrote:

"August 18, 1835. We had only barely time to get on board the rail-road line for Philadelphia. . . . This was my first experience on rail-roads—and the first sensations were very singular. I could not at first divest myself of the idea, that we were drawn by a team of horses upon the full run—but I soon became accustomed to it, and felt perfectly at ease."

Of the conditions of travel on foot at that day, a single citation will represent what those whose memory goes back before the Civil War can recall:—"January 26, 1839. A most tempestuous North East rain storm. After praying with the Superior Court undertook to get to the Post Office [that is, from Temple St. to the railroad cut] but the rain came in torrents, and I found Chapel Street so flooded, that it was impossible to get

along without going deeper than my overshoes would warrant, and so I gave it up."

I quote but one more narrative—that of the commemoration in 1838 of the founding of the town:—

"Wednesday, April 25. This day being fixed upon by the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the settlement of New Haven, it was turned into a gala-day, and many fantastic pranks were performed, official and non-official. Ringing of bells and firing of cannon opened and closed the day. A procession was formed at 9 A. M. at the State House, consisting of everybody and everybody's children, and escorted by two military companies and a band of music. This body moved to the corner of College and George Streets, where the Pilgrims held their first meeting, under an oak—and here were prayers and singing—and then they proceeded round the original squares, and returned to the Center meeting-house, where they had religious services, and a historical discourse by Professor Kingsley. I had been invited to take part in these exercises, but declined, and Mr. Bennett [the Assistant Minister] was called in to fill the gap. I had a quiet forenoon at home."

From these somewhat rambling excursions into the Diary I return to the expression in a more general way of the light on Dr. Croswell's character and influence, to be gathered from his writings. The lapse of nearly sixty years since his death has left with us scarcely any who can testify from mature and intimate recollection of what he was in private intercourse, and what his standards and purposes were, as shown in the direct results of his prolonged ministry. But the Diary reveals, beyond what his contemporaries witnessed or imagined, the mental habit and springs of action of the author.

He was not what we call a good judge of men, and his record bristles with hasty estimates, both favorable and unfavorable—to be followed later by virtual retractions and revisions of opinion; but I think I am not mistaken in inferring that his

severest criticisms were those of the pen, while in personal intercourse with his fellow-men, he was uniformly genial and overflowing with practical beneficence.

With regard to this last trait, it is evident that, like the rest of his generation, he observed none of the methods of our modern Organized Charities. Beggars thronged his door, and found him the easiest of prey, while fully aware of his own weakness.

His standard of duty to his own people was extraordinarily high. The constantly recurring opportunities of intellectual and social recreation in a University town, were resolutely and consistently set aside, on principle, for the sake of the commonplace offices incumbent on the chief pastor of a large city parish, in which the poor and the friendless were always the major and the more appealing part. In his conception of the Christian ministry, here lay his strength and his special call to service. To this work he had consecrated in a characteristically matter-of-fact way all his powers of mind and body; he had no ambition for place or power in any wider sphere; but in his own province he brooked no interference and allowed no rival. To the last week of his life he kept in his own hands all the details of his official charge, and fulfilled his ideal of the rectorship of Trinity Church, without fear or favor, under responsibility to no one but his Divine Master.

THE REMOVAL OF YALE COLLEGE TO NEW HAVEN IN OCTOBER, 1716.

By FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, LITT.D.

[Read October 23, 1916.]

In these passing days we have all been hearing and seeing so much of the history of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, that it may be rash to attack so well-worn a theme from any additional point of view: but it is certainly fitting that the Colony Historical Society should take its part in commemorating such an anniversary as this, and I have been called to the duty of spokesman. It is obvious that no new material can be discovered at so late an hour: I can merely challenge your interest in a plain restatement of some of the historical data, in such form as the special occasion may suggest.

In every rehearsal of these events, emphasis is primarily and justly laid on the fact that the founders of this Colony included a College in their original plans; it is also noteworthy that the language in which this intention was expressed anticipated the phrases to which we are accustomed as the chosen embodiment of the Yale idea in modern days.

It may be worth while to expand this assertion by recalling certain significant passages in the history of the earliest plan for higher education in New Haven.

First of all, in the revision of the town statutes, in February, 1645, not yet seven years after the beginning of the settlement, among other provisions, which it is explained had already been agreed upon, but by oversight had not been put on record, "It is ordered that a free school be set up, for the better training up of youth in this town, that through God's blessing they may be fitted for public service hereafter, either in church or common-

wealth." The phraseology was undoubtedly John Davenport's, though not necessarily original with him, and was frequently re-echoed in his public utterances.

Three years later, in March, 1648, the General Court of the Colony took the first active steps towards setting up a college in New Haven: but necessary funds were lacking, until the will of Governor Edward Hopkins, whose wife was a daughter of the wife of Governor Eaton, offered in 1657 a prospect of endowment.

In May, 1659, therefore, with a view of securing a share in this bequest, the General Court, in Davenport's language again, "looking upon it as their great duty to establish some course that through the blessing of God learning may be promoted in the Jurisdiction as a means for the fitting of instruments for public service in Church and Commonwealth, did order that 40 pounds a year shall be paid by the treasurer for the furtherance of a grammar school."

A year later, Davenport, as the trustee, to whom the portion of the Hopkins bequest intended for New Haven had been paid, in offering to turn over the trust to the General Court of the Colony, described the design as being "that a small college (such as the day of small things will permit) should be settled in New Haven for the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public services in church and commonwealth."

And again, in April, 1664, the Colony having failed to put this design into effect, Davenport offered the same trust to the town of New Haven, "to be improved," in his own language, "to that end for which it was given by Mr. Hopkins, viz., to fit youth (by learning) for the service of God in church and commonwealth."

This, of course, was the origin of the Hopkins Grammar School, with which Davenport's connection ceased in 1668, when he removed to Boston; but he left on file in our records a formal deed of trust of the legacy from which he had expected so much, declaring it to be "for the encouragement and breeding up of hopeful youths, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in these foreign plantations."

With this message Davenport passes out of our history; but the principle which he had labored to implant was not entirely lost sight of; and so, a generation later, when a little company of Connecticut ministers, mainly from the seaside townships, took up anew his project of "a small college," it was a happy and not undeserved coincidence that James Pierpont, then occupying Davenport's pulpit, was in the forefront of the movement, and suggested to the trained counsellors who drew up the Charter of 1701 a reproduction of Davenport's phraseology, in the incorporation of "a Collegiate School wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for public employment both in Church and Civil State." And thus the spirit of John Davenport and of New Haven was to a certain extent a part of Yale College from its beginning; and it is pleasant to find, among the documents which antedate the charter, unmistakable evidence that New Haven was at the time suggested as the ideal place for the College. But, so far as can now be seen, no pressure was brought to bear at that date by Pierpont or by any other representative of the town to influence the deliberating Trustees to install the proposed school here, rather than in Saybrook, or Middletown, or Hartford, or Milford, or Stratford, each of which places had some fair claim for consideration.

The extant records of these deliberations are consecutive and distinct enough to justify the conviction that the preliminary conferences of the ministers concerned were thoroughly amicable, and that Saybrook was agreed upon with substantial unanimity as being the most fairly acceptable compromise for the various interests involved.

By 1716, however, the case had materially altered. For a good part of the intervening period Saybrook had been obliged to share with its next-door neighbor, little Killingworth, whatever prestige or advantage there was in harboring the Collegiate School; while for the rest of the time the lack of a settled rector, and the death of the venerable parish minister (Thomas Buckingham) who had been the local centre of authority and influence for over forty years, had kept down the School to a

discouragingly low level of achievement and even of promise. Meantime New Haven had outstripped Hartford as the leading town of the Colony in numbers and in prosperity; while several of its more thrifty neighbors, such as Fairfield, Stratford, Milford, and Guilford, had grown faster than the other plantations of like history, eastwards or inland, and exercised a proportionately greater influence. In recognition of this development the General Court, which met in May and October annually, had resolved in 1713 to hold its autumn sessions henceforth in New Haven; and this action should be noted as one factor in determining the removal hither in 1716.

The changes in the composition of the Board of Trustees since 1701 were also of significance in this crisis. The three men who had been most prominent in shaping the early policy of the institution were Abraham Pierson of Killingworth, Thomas Buckingham of Saybrook, and James Pierpont of New Haven; but these were now all dead,—besides two others who had taken no special part in College matters, Mr. Chauncy of Stratford and Mr. Russel of Middletown—leaving as the one strong survivor among the trustees named in the charter the elderly pastor of the First Church in Hartford, Timothy Woodbridge, who had been kept by illness and absence in Boston from active participation in the deliberations of 1701, but who now stood ready to interpose his aggressive and dominating personality in antagonism to the prevailing judgment of the seaside trustees.

Of the recent accessions to the board the most notable were John Davenport of Stamford, a grandson of the original John and nephew of Rector Pierson, and Thomas Buckingham, minister of the Second Church in Hartford, and nephew of the Saybrook trustee of the same name. In the struggle which ensued, resulting in removal to New Haven, Mr. Davenport was chief spokesman of the victorious party; while Mr. Buckingham stood as the sole supporter of his townsman, Mr. Woodbridge, in advocacy of an inland location for the College.

But Mr. Pierpont's death had still another bearing on the controversy. His place in the New Haven pulpit had not been easily filled, and finally the choice of a successor had narrowed

down to two young Saybrook graduates,—Samuel Cooke and Joseph Noyes. Mr. Cooke was already a prominent figure in the town. He had been for eight years Rector of the Hopkins Grammar School, and during the last six sessions of the General Assembly one of the Deputies from New Haven. He had also married early into the locally prominent and wealthy Trowbridge family.

Mr. Noyes on the other hand had the prestige of being a son of one of the oldest and most eminent ministers of the Colony, and after a successful tutorship at Saybrook was now being sought as colleague to his father. Finally Mr. Noyes was chosen, in July, 1715; and his acceptance turned out to be an additional factor of importance in behalf of New Haven as the site of the college. In proof of this it is necessary only to recall the circumstances of the eventful meeting of eight of the ten living trustees in New Haven on Wednesday, the 17th of October, 1716. Besides the formal record of this meeting, we have a brief narrative of what occurred, apparently written a few months later by Joseph Noyes, the newly ordained minister. He sets down first the convincing argument of figures, stating that Hartford county had offered to give 6 or 700 pounds for the college, if settled there, and that New Haven donations given and offered amounted to 1600 pounds. Five trustees then voted for New Haven,—Andrew of Milford, Webb of Fairfield, Russell of Branford, Ruggles of Guilford, and Davenport of Stamford; while the two Hartford ministers voted in the negative. The moderator, Moses Noyes of Lyme, an uncle of the New Haven minister, declared, as the record says, that "he doth not see the necessity of removing the School from Saybrook, but if it must be removed, his mind is that it be settled at New Haven," or, as Joseph Noyes's account puts it, "Rev. Mr. Noyes of Lyme was silent after his nephew was settled at New Haven." The absent trustees were James Noyes of Stonington and Samuel Mather of Windsor. To quote Joseph Noyes again, "Mr. Mather was disabled by illness, but had by letter to Rev. Mr. Pierpont formerly," that is, in 1701, "signified his approbation of New Haven. And Mr. Noyes of Stonington gave certain

intimations of his mind for New Haven," as reported, perhaps by letter, "and afterwards signed the doings of the Trustees", in token of his approval.

The choice, then, of Joseph Noyes for the New Haven pulpit was immediately justified; if his rival, Samuel Cooke, had been preferred, it is at least doubtful whether the event which we now commemorate could have occurred in 1716. He would have brought no special claim of influence over individual trustees, nor so good a prospect of usefulness as an assistant in instruction and oversight as that which his competitor enjoyed. It may be conceded that Pastor Noyes did not prove ultimately an eminent theologian or a productive scholar; but a study of his portrait, hanging on our walls, gives an impression of buoyant and sanguine youthfulness, though the hair is silvered, and justifies, I have always fancied, the promise of his earlier manhood.

And what of the New Haven to which the Collegiate School came in October, 1716? The plantation had been in existence for three-quarters of a century, and the children of the first-comers who survived were now mostly in advanced years. A daughter-in-law of John Davenport still occupied the old Davenport mansion, on the present site of the Presbyterian Church on Elm Street. On the opposite side of the road one or two grandchildren still kept a foothold on the estate of Governor Eaton; while the family of Elihu Yale, Mrs. Eaton's grandson, who was destined to take so conspicuous a part in the College history, was also represented just below at the corner of State Street by a first cousin, the wife of Samuel Bishop. And a considerable list might easily be named of other elderly residents whose recollections included distinct impressions of the early years of the settlement and the men and women who were leaders in it.

There is no reason, however, to suppose that traditions of Davenport's purpose of "a small College" still lingered here to any such extent as to affect public policy: there were no persons of outstanding influence who would have been the natural channels of such tradition, or strong enough to ensure their wider acceptance, and local pride had found a sufficient reward in the modest growth of the Hopkins Grammar School.

The population of the compact portion of the town was probably not much over 700; while the membership of the First Church (still the only church in the whole territory, except that recently organized in East Haven village) was not far from 300. The entire community conformed to one system of religious belief, and probably at this date there was not within the town limits a single adherent of the Church of England, any more than of the Church of Rome, or of the Jewish Synagogue.

The community was also in the main socially homogeneous, much more so than at the beginning, when the distinctions of wealth and blood brought with the emigrants from the mother country were sharply drawn and recognized; neither was the town dominated by any commanding personalities, as in the first generation.

Besides the new minister, who was only 28, there were two other Saybrook graduates living in the town plot:—John Prout, Junior, 27 years old, a rising business man on lower State Street and Naval officer of the Port, and Daniel Browne, Junior, in his 19th year, who had lately been promoted from the rank of assistant-master to that of rector of the Grammar School, in succession to Mr. Cooke, who had just been ordained pastor of what is now the First Church in Bridgeport, having sold his house on Elm Street, opposite the Davenport mansion, to Mr. Noyes, who was about to be married to a daughter of the late minister, Mr. Pierpont. Browne himself was a native of the village of the West Side, now the borough of West Haven, and had a younger brother to whom we owe a detailed map of New Haven as it was in 1724, an invaluable document for our early history.

In addition to these three graduates, living in the centre of the town, there were Jacob Heminway, the minister to his kinsfolk and neighbors in East Haven, a graduate of 1704, and Daniel Elmer of 1713, who was preaching temporarily for the "West farmers," who had taken steps for gathering a church, but were not yet able to do so. Of the five thus noted, Heminway, Prout and Browne were the only New Haveners who had been sent to Saybrook since the Collegiate School began, and during that

period none of their townsmen had been educated at Harvard; in the same time there had been trained at Saybrook an equal number of Hartford boys, and thrice that number from Saybrook itself.

There was also in New Haven a solitary Harvard graduate, Warham Mather, 50 years of age, of the best Massachusetts blood, an uncle of Jonathan Edwards, but, although a man of undoubted ability, not much of a success in life. He had failed in his chosen vocation of preaching, and his wife being a daughter of the Madam Davenport who was spending her last years in the family home on Elm Street, they had come here to live with and care for her, while he divided most of his time between amateur medical practice (in which line he had no competitor) and public business as a side-judge of the county court and (subsequently) judge of probate. He filled a rather prominent place in the community, more perhaps owing to a dearth of other leaders than to the eminence of his own powers.

These four men, then, Mather, Prout, Noyes, and Browne, stood for the higher education in the New Haven town plot of 1716; and ranking with them in dignity and influence were such official persons as John Punderson and Abraham Bradley, the two ancient deacons of the Church; John Alling, judge of the probate court, who became also treasurer of the Collegiate School; Samuel Bishop, who shared with Dr. Mather and Deacon Bradley the station of assistant judge of the county court; Joseph Whiting, captain of the local militia; and Sergeant Abraham Dickerman, the first townsman or selectman.

The majority of the community comprised the customary assortment of active or retired farmers, traders, artisans, seafaring men, voluntary servants, and a small number of negro slaves from the West Indies; there were also perhaps an even smaller number of half-civilized Indians, besides the feeble remnant of a settlement of the Quinnipiac tribe in the East Haven region.

There were few persons of more than the average amount of estate; few dependants on charity; and tramps were then and for a century longer almost wholly unknown. The nucleus

of the original planters had been a small group of rich London merchants, who had brought with them a staff of inferior retainers, in the expectation of erecting here a state of society, modeled after that in the old country, with marked divisions of standing and culture, in one compact feudal community. As it was speedily found that this expectation was fallacious, this humbler class was colonized on some of the farming lands in the outlying edges of the town, which were in 1716 just developing into independent villages.

When the pioneers of New Haven sailed up in 1638 the West Creek, then navigable at least to the foot of College Street (a creek which was long traceable to the north of Chapel Street, just beyond Park), with admirable foresight they employed one of their number, John Brockett, who had some experience as a surveyor, to lay out a town-plot, of nine equal squares, the meeting-house green or market-place being the central one. The lines of this plot were determined by the two creeks on the George Street and State Street borders, with one unfortunate result, that the streets bounding the nine squares, being laid out parallel to these creeks, are hopelessly out of relation to the cardinal points of the compass. We are accustomed, to be sure, to ignore this patent irregularity, and always speak for instance of Elm Street as the northern boundary of the Green; but the earlier land records do not observe any rule on this head, and are nearly as apt to describe a lot on the Chapel Street side of Elm Street, for instance, as bounded on the west by the highway, as they are to say bounded on the south.

Within these limits, then, of George, York, Grove, and State Streets (the intermediate streets being then and until after the Revolution mostly unopened), and on the outlying roads leading towards the harbor and the country (Water Street, Meadow Street, Commerce Street, Broad Street, Broadway and Whitney Avenue), the main body of the townsfolk dwelt; and until the College fostered a new center of life and interest, the principal activities of the settlement were gathered about State Street and the water front, which then of course and for one hundred and fifty years later began at what is now Water Street.

The Green had upon it four public buildings. First, the wooden meeting-house, built on ground a little to the east and south of the present Centre Church in 1670, and continued in use during practically the entire ministries of Nicholas Street, James Pierpont and Joseph Noyes. The area was about sixty by fifty-five feet, with three entrances on the eastern front, two on the north, and two on the south. The pulpit was placed originally at the west end, as in the modern church, facing two tiers of benches, those on the northern side for women, and those on the southern for men. Influential people had been allowed by the town to build private pews on the north and south walls; and when more room had recently become necessary, it had been gained by pushing out the western wall twenty-five feet further, leaving the pulpit where it was, and filling the added floor-space behind it with more private pews, facing the main congregation. There were also put at the western end stairways leading to the back and side galleries, and at the northeast and southeast corners stairs to the large front gallery, in which henceforth the College was to hire sittings for graduate and undergraduate students. Even with these additions the house was hardly sufficient for the demands upon it, until relieved by the establishment of worship in East Haven, North Haven and West Haven; but, however inadequate, it was destined to remain for forty years longer, and to serve, not only as the place for religious assemblage, but also, until a Court House was built south of it in 1719, as the forum for transacting all civic business, in the public town-meetings and in the general court of the Colony and subordinate courts.

The graves of the forefathers were scattered irregularly in the proximity of the meeting-house to the West and North, those still to be seen in the crypt under the Centre Church showing what was the former level of the ground in that vicinity.

The minor structures on the Green comprised a small building used as a jail, on College Street, perhaps somewhere nearly opposite the present Lawrance Hall: another smaller one, a little further north, used as a shelter for the night-watch; and an old building on Elm Street, about where the United Church now

stands, in which the Grammar School was kept. Such were the only public buildings of the town.

One striking advantage of New Haven in comparison with other sites proposed for the college was the sightliness and amplitude of the meeting-house green; and steps were taken at once by the Trustees, after October, 1716, for the purchase of land for a building in a situation commanding this fair prospect. Such was found in the lot of one and a quarter acres on the corner of College and Chapel Streets, being the space now occupied by Osborn Hall, the adjoining wing of Vanderbilt Hall, Connecticut Hall, and about one-half of Welch Hall,—a lot, which had been bequeathed by Mrs. Esther Coster some twenty-five years earlier to the First Church, to be improved for the encouragement of religion and learning by the maintenance of a semi-annual lecture. These lectures had been held in Mr. Pierpont's day in the spring and fall of each year, and had been made more important by the custom of using such occasions for the formal admission of members to the church.

On the Chapel Street side of the Coster lot stood an old dwelling house, built by one of the first comers, but now so dilapidated as to produce no income for the lecture fund. The Church, therefore, as allowed by the donor's will, and in furtherance of the declared object of the trust, conveyed the property in 1717, to the College authorities, for 26 pounds, about one-fourth of the price which Mrs. Coster had paid in 1686.

But it should also be remembered that the removal to New Haven was ensured by the liberal offers of real and personal estate from public and private sources. Thus, the Proprietors of common and undivided town lands gave to the College eight unimproved acres (about half the size of the Green) in the quarter to the northwestwards of the town-plot, near enough to be long utilized as pasture for the President's cow, of which ownership the memory is still preserved in the name of University Place, opening out of Whalley Avenue.

It is a pleasure to commemorate also the names of some of the more notably generous donors of land or money, such as

Joseph Peck, Ebenezer Mansfield, Mary Trowbridge, Richard Sperry, Senior, and four of his sons, Thomas Hitchcock, Thomas Holt, William Hotchkiss, John Morris, John Mix, Samuel Ives, James Gibbs, Nathaniel Yale (of North Haven, a first cousin of Elihu), John Bassett, John Glover, and Samuel Burwell.

Of the New Haven of 1716 the more striking natural features are all that remain. Of buildings then standing, the only one left, now or at any time within recent memory, is the frame of an ancient house, with wholly reconstructed exterior, on Meadow Street, in the rear of a brick block on this side of the Armory, which was then the residence of Lieutenant Stephen Trowbridge.

Into this community the Collegiate School, or rather a fragment of it, was brought in 1716; and what was then the Collegiate School?

It had a background of six formative years in Killingworth, followed (after Rector Pierson's death) by nine lean years in Saybrook. During these fifteen years the degree of Bachelor of Arts had been given in course to fifty-five persons, all but one of whom were still living. The average age at the time of admission had been about sixteen years,—the two extremes in this respect having been Henry Willes, who entered at twenty-one, and Daniel Browne, who entered at twelve and a half. Of the graduates, about two-thirds had given themselves to the ministry, and more than a score of this number were now improved in Connecticut parishes. Three or four were temporarily at least teachers, and about a dozen had settled down in civil life within the Colony limits.

None of the little group could have been expected to reach as yet distinction; though it included young men with such capacities as Dr. Jared Eliot, of Killingworth, one of the earliest scientific lights of New England, Jonathan Dickinson, the first president of Princeton, and Samuel Johnson, first president of Columbia.

Neither was there in the baker's dozen of undergraduates who assembled here in October, 1716, more than one who attained

eminence,—the exception being the English-born William Smith (the only Sophomore), who rose to the headship of the New York bar, and declined the place of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. But a greater than he, Jonathan Edwards, was now a Freshman in the rival camp of seceded students at Wethersfield, who later transferred himself to New Haven, in time for graduation and a tutorship, and for finding here a bride in the person of the saintly daughter of Madam Pierpont, in the former parsonage on Elm Street, where Temple Street now enters the Green.

Eminence, however, was hardly to be expected in such a homespun group, as is evident in comparison with the much longer list of Bachelors of Arts at Harvard College from 1702 to 1716; out of their total of 174 names, those that are now best known are only such as Edward Holyoke, a President of Harvard, Elisha Williams, Rector of Yale, Thomas Prince, the Boston antiquary, and Benning Wentworth, Royal Governor of New Hampshire; while of the perhaps eighty undergraduates who made up President Leverett's flock in Cambridge in October, 1716, there is not a single name that has now anything beyond the most limited local familiarity.

As a place of study the College in 1716 was not essentially different from what it continued to be through the eighteenth century. The conditions of admission were refreshingly simple. Those who were admitted must "be found expert in both the Greek and Latin grammar, as also skilful in construing and grammatically resolving both Latin and Greek authors and in making good and true Latin." This sufficed; and on this foundation was built the superstructure of what was then a liberal education, comprising some degree of training in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, physics and metaphysics, with possibly a little mathematics, and extensive practice of forensic disputation and other rhetorical exercises.

Certain general requirements in the official "Orders and Appointments," as the College Laws were at first styled, were doubtless "counsels of perfection," and not in reality effectual.

Such was, for instance, the order that "No scholar shall use the English tongue in the College with his fellow-scholars, unless he be called to public exercise proper to be attended in the English tongue; but scholars in their chambers and when they are together shall talk Latin." It is a matter of tradition that this regulation was early a dead letter—not merely evaded by the use of mock Latin, but glaringly disregarded. So, again, the formal provision that "Every student shall exercise himself in reading Holy Scriptures by himself every day," takes for granted a higher universal grade of personal piety than the facts and conditions of undergraduate life entirely warrant.

Since Rector Pierson's death the teaching staff in Saybrook had consisted of a couple of young tutors, under the distant and infrequent supervision of the Rector *pro tempore*, Mr. Andrew of Milford; and on the transfer to New Haven it happened to be necessary to fill these tutorships with new appointees. One of those elected preferred to cast in his lot with the group of students who went to Wethersfield; and this left as the sole resident officer here, Samuel Johnson, a man destined to large success in mature life as the Apostle of Episcopacy in Connecticut, but then only two years from graduation and twenty years of age. But Parson Noyes, who had retired from the same office only the year before, after filling it with distinction, now consented to take charge for the coming year of the Senior class, which apparently consisted of only two members; leaving to Mr. Johnson a Junior class of eight (two of whom were several years older than their tutor), and a Freshman class of two, besides a single Sophomore. And a somewhat similar scanty and uncertain attendance of students continued to be the experience for three years to come.

I have already referred in a general way to the leaders in the discussions of the trustees over the site of the College in 1716: on the one hand the Rev. John Davenport of Stamford, supported by Mr. Russel of Branford, Rector Andrew of Milford, Mr. Ruggles of Guilford, and Mr. Webb of Fairfield; and on the

other hand the two Hartford ministers, Woodbridge and Buckingham; while the two Noyeses of Stonington and Lyme, though not counted in the original vote, were ultimately for New Haven.

Outside of the Board of Trustees, the question was to some extent involved with general Colony politics. Between the Eastern and Western sections of the Colony there was a growing competition for place and power; and in the present case the Western section as a rule took up vigorously the support of New Haven; while Hartford was led in consequence to ally itself for the time being with New London county, the principal constituent of the Eastern section. In the deliberations of the Upper House of the Assembly, or Governor's Council, Governor Saltonstall, who had active affiliation with both sections, as a former minister of New London, as well as a large landowner in his wife's right in Branford and New Haven, endeavored to hold the scales even between the contending interests, until the action of a clear majority justified him in throwing his influence on the Western side. On the same side were Jonathan Law, Judge of the New Haven county court, and some of the most active of the Assistants, including especially Judge John Alling of New Haven, and two prominent citizens of Hartford, Judge William Pitkin and Major Joseph Taleott, the latter of whom succeeded next to the governorship, and held the office for a longer period than has any one since. These two gentlemen, of the very highest standing in their own community, in a spirit of protest against local jealousies, and in order to maintain their position and influence in the colony at large, found it their duty in the present emergency to side with the New Haven party, against their militant fellow-townsmen.

One sequel of Major Taleott's breach with his pastor, Mr. Woodbridge, may be mentioned in connection with a further development of the College history. In the progress, two or three years later, of the fight against the establishment at New Haven, after the Saybrook people had been ordered by the Governor and Council to give up the College books and records, and had refused, a scheme was devised for getting control of the Assembly by electing the Hartford ministers as Deputies, in the

hope that they might shape legislation which should undo the New Haven settlement. The result was far different; Mr. Buckingham waived his election, and Mr. Woodbridge's right to sit in the House was at once challenged by a Fairfield Deputy, on the ground that he had defamed the Government by virtually charging the Upper House with theft and constructive murder in ordering such violent measures at Saybrook; and Major Talcott was cited as a witness to his pastor's defamatory charges. A voluminous record of Woodbridge's prosecution is on file in the State Library and further reveals his relations with Talcott, whom he endeavored to debar from the communion table because of his evidence in this case. The upshot was that Woodbridge did not sit in the Assembly, but signed an apology acceptable to the Lower House, though not to the Upper; the personal controversy was referred to a council from abroad, and in the end was accommodated on the basis of mutual forbearance.

It is pleasant, however, to remember that about the same time that reconciliation with his aggrieved parishioner was effected, that is, three years after the settlement at New Haven, Mr. Woodbridge resumed attendance on the meetings of the Trustees, and thenceforth took the honorable and conspicuous part in College affairs to which he was entitled by age and dignity.

The breach in the friendly relations of the Trustees was thus healed; but the injury due to the detention of College property in Saybrook could never be fully repaired. The loss of books from the Library stored in the house of Squire Buckingham, the village justice, was not permanently serious; but the confiscation of the records of the proceedings of the Trustees from 1704 to 1716 will always remain an irreparable and seemingly indefensible detention and destruction.

In the discussion of a site, the advocates for New Haven were able to urge fairly that on the evidence of the annual tax lists this was now the chief town of the Colony; that it was especially well placed for direct communication by water as well as by land with both Boston and New York, and with the river and coast settlements of Connecticut as well; that the pecuniary encouragement here offered far exceeded that offered by any

other locality; that the situation for a college house, facing the green, was exceptionally favorable; while the natural advantages of soil and climate and a relatively low cost of living were crowning arguments. On the other hand, the Hartford malcontents claimed that they represented the ancient and central seat of government, with a ring of prosperous towns about it; and by the unnatural device of coupling New London county with their own, as the alternate of the Western section, made out a larger aggregate both of population and of students in the school, while also urging against New Haven inaccessible remoteness, especially in view of the uncertainties of transportation by water in the winter season. These alleged disadvantages were bound to lessen with the passage of time; nor was their place likely to be supplied by any of greater weight; unless indeed New London preferred a claim of pre-eminence from having had since 1709 the only printing-press in the Colony,—a distinction which New Haven was not able to rival until 1754, nor Hartford until 1764.

The productions of the New London press had been hitherto of a purely matter-of-fact sort, including mainly official documents, such as Colony Acts and Laws, the Governor's Proclamations, the annual Election Sermons, the Saybrook Platform of Church Doctrine and Discipline, besides primers for children. For instance, in the year which we commemorate, the only known output of Timothy Green's press in New London is the Election Sermon preached that year by the Rev. Anthony Stoddard, of Woodbury; while the much more prolific presses of Boston and New York were printing such notable products from our standpoint as the original edition of Col. Benjamin Church's "History of King Philip's War," and a treatise on Infant Baptism, by the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, a Saybrook graduate of 1706, who by this token won the rank of the first Yale man to appear in print as an author.

But if we look across the Atlantic, the scantiness of the record of the same year in the older and richer field of British literature and history, may serve to remind us how limited was still the horizon, not merely for the Colonies, but for all English-speaking peoples of that date. In October, 1716, the first of the Georges had been for two years on the throne, and though Great Britain

was still in intermittent turmoil from Jacobite uprisings, the homesick King was absent on a six months' visit to his beloved Hanover, while the unattractive columns of the journals of the day are singularly devoid of interest to the student of two centuries later. Testing them by the standard of American news, the results are almost *nil*. For instance, *Mercurius Politicus*, the promising monthly periodical begun in May, 1716, under DeFoe's editorship, in its early numbers contained absolutely no reference to this quarter of the world; and from the weekly news-sheets near the date we celebrate, the only recoverable items of value for their bearing on American affairs are, one in the *Post Boy* of July 12, which locates Annapolis Royal in New England, and a second in a later issue of the same paper, which chronicles the departure of Colonel Shute on July 31 for "his Government of New England," making the same territorial designation serve as an equivalent for Massachusetts, which it had formerly used for Acadia.

The *Boston News Letter*, our only American paper for the same dates, is a like disappointment to any anxious gleaner for items of information. The two scanty weekly pages are occupied almost wholly with foreign despatches, reports of the movements of coasting vessels into and out of Boston harbor, and a few local advertisements, with otherwise an utter absence of personal and local items—the elements of success for a newspaper in later days.

Nor was 1716 eminent in the annals of British literary history. Among the publications of that year, all that can excite from any of us even the feeblest present interest are one volume of Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, and a pamphlet by John Dunton, a former transient inhabitant of Boston. Of the lights of the Augustan Age of Queen Anne, DeFoe, Swift, Addison and Steele were then in middle life; among the active spirits of the younger generation were Richardson, Pope, Gay and Bishop Butler; while Fielding, Johnson, Hume, and Sterne were not yet out of the nursery. Of their fellow-countrymen who were later to have any considerable American experience, George Berkeley, at the age of 32, was a college tutor, idling away his time in London; John Wesley had just entered his

teens and Edward Braddock his majority; and George Whitefield was in his infancy.

Of the greater historical figures on the American stage, Increase Mather was now 77, and his son Cotton 53, and Jonathan Edwards a boy of 13. Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Trumbull were children of ten and six respectively, and the rest of the leading participants in our revolutionary struggle were as yet unborn.

The story of 1716 is incomplete without some reference to the gifts of Governor Yale, which were directly induced by the connection of his family with New Haven. Yale's father had come here as a young man with his stepfather, Governor Eaton; but had migrated after three or four years to Massachusetts Bay, where his son Elihu was born; and thence returned to England. The friendly efforts of Jeremy Dummer, the Agent of Connecticut at the British Court, had brought before Governor Yale's notice as early as 1711 the struggling Collegiate School of Connecticut; and his timely suggestions were furthered and made fruitful in 1718 by a persuasive appeal from Cotton Mather. Mather, judging from the language of his diary, wrote purely of his own suggestion; and his letter resulted in the handsome gifts, a few months later, which caused the donor's name by its adoption here to become a familiar syllable, as we fondly hope, in the thoughts and speech of endless generations.

Wealthy patrons, whether British or American, were then rare and uncertain; and in default of this generous assistance the simple removal of the Collegiate School to New Haven would probably have had as its immediate result only a more tedious and precarious development, and a later flowering of many of its historic experiences and achievements. And, on the other hand, without the event of October, 1716, it is reasonably certain that there never could have been any *Yale* College, here or elsewhere, and that the host of loyal sons of Yale would have been marshaled under the auspices of some other name of inferior felicity.

I have outlined familiarly the salient points in the local setting of the event which Yale and New Haven have undertaken to

commemorate at this anniversary; but it is hardly my province to dwell on the broader significance of the historic coming together of the Collegiate School of Connecticut and the mother-town of the ancient New Haven Colony. Time would fail me to do justice to even the conspicuous instances in these crowded centuries in which each of the two parties to this union has been distinctly the gainer by its combination with the other. In the case of the personal element only, how greatly have the development and the renown of New Haven been fostered by the adoption into its life of the stream of hundreds upon hundreds of educated men, apart from the officers of the College, who have taken up their abode here, subsequent to graduation; how much, for example, has been due to the new blood infused by such acquisitions as James Hillhouse and Eli Whitney, Jonathan Ingersoll and Simeon Baldwin, David Daggett and Leonard Bacon. And if the city has been strengthened by constant and varied accessions to its professional and civic and social life, with corresponding constancy and variety it has returned the gift. To cite again but a sample illustration, what appreciation of the achievements and aims of the University has been shown, in our own generation merely, by the resources placed at its disposal by such typical representatives of our best citizenship as (to name only a selection) Joseph E. Sheffield and Henry Farnam, Augustus R. Street and Oliver F. Winchester, Henry Bronson and Philip Marett, Augustus E. Lines and Edward M. Reed, Pierce N. Welch and Justus S. Hotchkiss.

The union of the town and the Collegiate School in 1716 was accomplished without profuseness of words or of display; and throughout the years the consolidation of their interests has gone on in quietness and sobriety. Both the city and the University may reasonably to-day review the result with evident and even enthusiastic demonstration, in devout and earnest gratitude and warm congratulations for the past, and with confident and eager hope for the future.

THE LOSS OF THE CHARTER GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTICUT.

BY LEMUEL A. WELLES, M.A., LL.B.

[Read December 18, 1916.]

The aim of the Stuart kings of England was to establish a government closely dependent upon the Crown. What the King thought was best for the people, and not what the people or their representatives thought best, was to be the rule of government. This violated the English Constitution, but at the times of which I am to speak, it was no new thing for the English Government to trample upon the rights of the people. Charles I made illegal exactions of moneys; and even the great Cromwell, who had revolted because, among other things, of illegal taxation, himself felt obliged to levy and collect taxes without the authority of Parliament. In the days of Charles II Englishmen knew their rights, and had seen them violated.

The City of London was the stronghold of the Whig party, which was opposed to the extension of the royal power. The City of London sent Whig representatives to Parliament, and, unlike most places in England, had the right to elect its own sheriff, and the sheriff chose the grand jury. The Earl of Shaftsbury had tried to carry through Parliament the Exclusion Bill, preventing the Duke of York from succeeding Charles II as king. He was most obnoxious to the King and his brother, who had him arrested for high treason, but was popular in the City of London, and the grand jury there refused to indict him, and he was released from jail. The partisans of royal authority, therefore, attacked the charter and privileges of the City of London by bringing legal proceedings by means of a writ of Quo Warranto to forfeit the charter because of some small irreg-

ularities. The corrupt judges decided in favor of the Crown, and on June 12, 1683, judgment was recorded against the London charter. It was a most astounding thing that this ancient city, the metropolis of England, which had enjoyed its privileges for centuries, should suddenly be deprived of them and become dependent wholly upon the royal favor for its rights and upon the appointees of the Crown for its officers. Emboldened by this success, the King proceeded to attack other charters, and in 1684 the infamous Judge Jeffreys made a circuit through the northern counties, when it was said borough charters fell before him like the walls of Jericho.

The loss of these English charters was reported in New England as soon as the news could be carried, and caused great consternation and fear among the people of these Colonies. If the City of London lost its charter, what would happen if their charters were attacked? Furthermore, the people here looked at their charter not only as the Constitution of Government, but also to some extent as a patent or confirmation of their titles to the real estate, which was the principal possession of the great majority of the inhabitants of New England.

Edward Randolph, the collector of royal customs in New England and its untiring enemy, who had previously complained against the Massachusetts Government, on June 4, 1683, presented seventeen articles of complaint against the Government of that Colony, chief of which were that they had erected a public mint in Boston to coin money; that they had imposed upon the consciences of his Majesty's subjects in matters of religion by their ecclesiastical laws repugnant to the laws of England, and that they had refused appeals to his Majesty in council in matters relating to the Crown. On October 27, 1683, the writ of Quo Warranto was served on Massachusetts. Judgment against the Massachusetts Charter was entered in the Court of Chancery on October 27, 1684.* What then happened at the King's council is described by Macaulay as follows:

* The Quo Warranto proceedings which were in the Court of King's Bench were dropped because of a defect in the writ, and a new proceeding by *scire facias* was begun in the Chancery Court.

"At one of the last councils which Charles held a remarkable scene took place. The charter of Massachusetts had been forfeited. A question arose how, for the future, the colony should be governed. The general opinion of the board was that the whole power, legislative as well as executive, should abide in the crown. Halifax (Lord Privy Seal) took the opposite side, and argued with great energy against absolute monarchy, and in favour of representative government. It was vain, he said, to think that a population sprung from the English stock, and animated by English feelings, would long bear to be deprived of English institutions. Life, he exclaimed, would not be worth having in a country where liberty and property were at the mercy of one despotic master. The Duke of York was greatly incensed by this language, and represented to his brother the danger of retaining in office a man who appeared to be infected with all the worst notions of Marvell and Sidney."

James the II^d was proclaimed King in February, 1685. On July 1st a copy of the judgment against the Massachusetts Charter was delivered to Secretary Rawson, and after some months Joseph Dudley was made President, who with a council was appointed to govern Massachusetts, and some other parts of New England; and a little later Sir Edmund Andros was commissioned Governor. Thus the greatest stronghold of Puritanism fell; and men who for years had defied all human authority but their own, and who had braved every danger, became the abject subjects of royal favor.

The first mention I have found of the proposition to take away the Connecticut Charter is in a letter by Edward Cranfield, of New Hampshire, to Wm. Blathwayt, the Secretary of the Committee of Trade & Plantations, dated October 5, 1683.* This was over a year before the judgment against the Massachusetts charter was entered, and yet he speaks of it, and with reason, as though the matter were all settled. He says, with reference to Connecticut: "The humour of the Inhabitants and method of their Govern^t. being the same wth Boston as corrupt, but much more ignorant, therefore if his Ma^{ty} please to reassume them into his hands as well as Boston, it may make a thorough Reformation among them." The Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Hartford Sept. 5, 1684, and ordered that Oct. 22 should be observed as a day of humiliation for general reformation, "and that we may obtain the favor of God for a

* Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 148.

farther lengthening out of our tranquillity under the shadow of our sovereign Lord the King." News of the judgment against the Massachusetts charter reached Connecticut in January, 1685; and on the 9th of that month Randolph wrote from London to Dudley:* "Its yet very uncertain whether processe will issue out against Rhode Island and Connecticut collony to bring in both them before the governour come over, or to do that afterward in case they refuse to submit to a general governour, as yet nothing has been discovered of it. A committee of Lords for Saturday next is appointed for that busines."

Both Randolph and Cranfield were very talkative men, and no doubt enjoyed telling what they were to cause to happen to the Connecticut Charter, and kept Connecticut people alarmed. In the address of the Governor and Council to the King in April, 1685,† on receiving notice of his accession, they use these words: "Humbly beseeching your most excellent Ma^{tie} to grant the benigne shines of your favour to this your poore Colony of Connecticut, in the continuance of the liberties and properties granted to us by o^r late Sovereigne Charles the second of blessed memorie, that we may be encouraged in our small beginnings and live under your royall shadow a quiet and peaceable life in all godlyness and honesty."

The first official act of the Connecticut General Court which shows they were preparing for the storm, and which is also a tribute to their caution and foresight, was taken at the May session 1685. It provided: "This Court for the prevention of future trouble, and that every township's grants of land as it hath been obteyned by gift, purchass or otherwayes, of the natives and grant of this Court, may be settled upon them, their heires, successors and assigns forever, according to our charter granted by his late Ma^{tie} of happy memory, This Court doth order that every township in this colony shall take out Pattents for their sayd grants, of the Governo^r and Company, which this Court doth hereby order shall be granted unto them"

* Randolph Papers, vol. 4, p. 14.

† Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 341.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

The towns did take out patents under this statute. The Charter, as stated above, was regarded not only as a constitution of government, but also as a patent of real estate. The Charter was unquestionably in legal force at this time, and so before it could be taken away from them they took advantage of its authority to cause formal patents to be issued to the towns for all their previous grants and Indian purchases.

On May 5, 1685, Randolph had made representations to the Committee of Trade and Plantations against the remaining charter governments in New England, and they had ordered him "to prepare a paper containing all such particulars upon which a Quo Warranto may be grounded against their charters." Pursuant to this order, Randolph, on July 15, 1685, presented to the committee his articles of "High Misdemeanours" against Connecticut and Rhode Island.* There were six of these "articles" against Connecticut. 1. That they had made laws contrary to the laws of England. 2. That they impose fines and convert them to their own use. 3. They enforce an Oath of Fidelity without Administering the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. 4. They do not permit the exercise of the Religion of the Church of England. 5. The inhabitants of other Colonies cannot obtain justice in their courts. 6. They exclude from the government all gentlemen of known loyalty. Two days later the Council considered the report of the Committee and Randolph's articles of misdemeanor and recommended that the Attorney General bring writs of Quo Warranto against the Colonies, which the King approved and ordered.†

Now, that the Connecticut Charter has been formally attacked, let us stop for a moment to consider the leading men entrusted at this time with its government. Connecticut in 1685 consisted of twenty-five towns. The men who led the settlement fifty years before were now mostly gone. It has sometimes been said that the second and third generations showed a marked decline in intellectual power from the first settlers, and this is probably true to some extent as far as the clergy were concerned, for there

* Randolph Papers, vol. 4, p. 21.

† *Ibid.*, p. 24.

were no ministers in the Colony in 1685 who were of the rank of Hooker and Davenport. It is not so easy to compare the statesmen. A reading of the letters and State papers of Haynes, Ludlow, Willis, Hopkins, Welles and Webster indicates, I think, that they were better educated than Treat, Allyn, Fitch, the two Stanleys and the Talcotts. The former men had performed an extraordinary feat in the framing and adopting the Fundamental Articles or the first constitution of Connecticut, and in laying the foundations of the government on broad principles of democracy (such, for instance, as not requiring church membership as a condition of being made a freeman). The latter group showed extraordinary wisdom and courage in the embarrassing matters they were called upon to manage, and no crisis, it seems to me, was ever managed better than their conduct in the matter of the loss and later of the resumption of their charter government. Both groups were fearless, prudent, earnest and religious men, and may well stand forth as models whose high example their successors in modern times would do well to emulate. The three men who were the most influential in the Colony, and who stand out head and shoulders above all others were Major Robert Treat of Milford, the Governor, Capt. (afterwards Lieut.-Colonel) John Allyn of Hartford, the Secretary, and Capt. (afterwards Major) James Fitch of Norwich, an Assistant. Gov. Treat, who was now over sixty years old, had held office and been a member of the Assembly or General Court in three different Colonies, New Haven, New Jersey and Connecticut. He had held the highest military command in the Colony in King Philip's War, and had been a magistrate for many years. We have several glimpses of his personality. His piety is shown by an incident which occurred in New Jersey.* He was one of a committee from Newark which met a committee from Elizabethtown to settle a boundary dispute. We are told that the two committees met on a little round hill, afterwards called Divident Hill, and that Robert Treat first led them in prayer "that there might be good agreement between them."

* Stearns' First Church in Newark, p. 40, quoting Answer to Bill in Chancery, p. 47.

How Treat appeared to a fellow governor is shown by Gov. Dongan, of New York, who wrote (Oct. 21, 1687):* "As for your Gov^rn^r, he is an easy good natured gentleman." His conduct to those who questioned his authority at a trial is described by Gershom Bulkeley:† "The governor claps his hand to his hilt, and, says he, If I put on my harness I will subdue these rebellious fellows, and make them pay their dues," and again,‡ the "governor then said, that the people had put him in, and he had ventured all he had above his shoulders on the account, and therefore he would maintain it." How the Connecticut Council regarded Treat, appears from their order just before he led the forces to the Great Swamp fight, when they commanded§ "all the captaines and l^{nts} of the army to be tender and carefull of Major Treat that he be not exposed to too much hazard, and that they allot him a sufficient guard to attend his person at all times." He had been in tight places before this. President Stiles conjectures that it was Treat who in the anxious consultation stiffened up the wavering New Haven magistrates to delay the execution of the King's warrant for apprehension of the regicides. I would remark here that President Stiles, while holding some curious views, had a remarkably shrewd eye and discerning judgment in estimating character.

We do not know so much about the Honorable Lieut. Col. John Allyn, as his tombstone calls him, as we do about Treat. He was now about Treat's age, and had been for years an Assistant and Secretary of the Colony; he had also been Town Clerk of Hartford and Clerk of his Church. He had been on important commissions to neighboring Colonies. He was a writer and with William Pitkin wrote and published a pamphlet entitled "Their Majesties Colony of Connecticut Vindicated," &c. His labor for the Colony had been simply tremendous. There is more of Secretary Allyn's handwriting in the State Archives than of any other person before 1700. J. H. Trumbull thinks Bulkeley

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 387.

† Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 3, p. 209.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

§ Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 2, p. 388.

referred to Allyn when he speaks of the "dictator," who "could easily influence the Court with his gloss and move them to speak in his dialect."* Samuel Willis, writing to Fitz-John Winthrop, from Hartford, April 16, 1687, refers to Capt. Allyn in these words: "who you know is a leadinge man in affairs here . . . who can influence further in ou^r Court yⁿ others" (unpublished letter in the Mass. Historical Society).

Probably more influential than either Gov. Treat or Secretary Allyn or any one else in Connecticut, was Capt. James Fitch, of Norwich, an Assistant. He was the son of Rev. James Fitch, a prominent clergyman, and grandson of Rev. Henry Whitfield, the leader of the Guilford settlement, and was now under forty years of age. Randolph says of him in 1689†: "he being the head and leading man in Connecticut Colony." Samuel Willis, writing to Fitz-John Winthrop in 1697, says that Capt. Fitch has been the principal "minister of State in your absence."‡ Bulkeley writes in 1692: "There is a great question in Connecticut which needs a decision, and that is, who it is that sits upon the throne? Whether it be King William and Queen Mary, or James Fitch and Nathaniel Stanly and their accomplices."§ He was a clever, nervous, active, impetuous and popular man. We read of him as going to New York to confer with Jacob Leisler, the reform Governor there; of riding up and down the Colony "from Dan to Beersheba" on political errands, of drinking too much and under discipline of his church on that account,|| of being put in charge of the Indians and securing for himself large grants of land from the Indians. He was a land surveyor, land speculator and recorder, and founder of towns. I suppose Capt. Fitch was personally known to every man in the Colony, and had probably taken a drink of flip at every tavern within its limits. He was also a student and

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 460.

† Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 313.

‡ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Sixth Series, III, 31.

§ Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 3, p. 257.

|| Caulkins' Hist. of Norwich, p. 138.

writer. We find him busy re-writing the laws of the Colony, and the author of two pamphlets in favor of the resumption of charter government, entitled "A Plain Short Discourse," &c., and "A Little of the Much," &c. No copy of these has come down to us. He had a personal interest, on account of his extensive holdings by Indian deeds, to wish to keep away Andros, who said such titles were worth no more than the "seratch of a bear's paw." He quarreled with the Winthrops and later with Gov. Saltonstall.* The Winthrops nicknamed him "Black James" and their bitterness toward him is shown by a letter written twenty years later by John Winthrop to Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop.† He says "The freemen of Connecticott certainly intended to act a tragic-comedy this year, to re-elect Black-James y^e Sagamore of Pigscomscutt, after all his open & scandalous villanies. The Attorney General told me y^e other day y^t we should quickly hear it an artiele against y^e charter y^t they elected such a scandalous fellow into the magistracy!" But he kept his hold in popular favor notwithstanding his fighting the aristocraey and his constant litigation. We remember him also as one of the first benefactors of Yale College. Notwithstanding he was at one time said to be the largest land holder in the Colony, he died poor after surviving all who were prominent at this time. He was certainly a picturesque character, but he was more than that. I think it is due to his influence that there was no formal surrender of the Charter, and certainly he was most active in the resumption of charter government. He therefore performed public services which give him a high place among the great men of Connecticut and for which we owe him a debt of gratitude. Other leading men in the Colony were Major John Talcott and his brother Capt. Samuel Talcott, Ensign Nathaniel Stanley, Caleb Stanley, Samuel Willis, William Pitkin, Andrew Leete, Major Nathan Gold, James Bishop and John Wadsworth.

To return to the attack on the Charter, the story is told by the letters of the time, some of which were not published till 1909.

* Learned's Hist. of Windham County, I, 150-154.

† Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Sixth Series, III, 334

The writs of Quo Warranto against Connecticut were duly issued, and Randolph wrote Sir Robert Southweld,* on July 30, 1685, "I have 5 Quo Warr^{tos} by me: against Connecticutt, Road Island, the two East & West New Jarseyes & Delaware: I am in great expectation of orders to go to New Eng^d in a little tyme with a commission to settle a temporary Gom^t." He did not, however, arrive with the writs in Boston until May 14, 1686, and then the time of return had lapsed. There were two Quo Warrantos, the first returnable November 18, 1685, and the second April 15, 1686. Of course, both writs were wholly ineffective. Randolph was perfectly aware of this, and his scheme therefore was to conceal this fact, but to inform Connecticut officials that he had the writs, and to construe their acknowledgment of that information as the voluntary surrender, which he urged upon them. He wrote Secretary Blathwayt,† May 29th, "I have likewise been fore'd to conceal the Quo Warr^{tto} agst R^d. Island and Connecticutt Colony: least they should all combine and stand out: but I shall have by me to go to those parts and must do what I can by perswasion for the writts were by my tedious voyage out of Date 15 dayes before I arrived: I treat them at a distance with proffession of great friendship, and the sight of the frigott may operate more than a legall summons." Here is what he wrote Gov. Treat and Council two days before (May 27, 1686)‡: "I am heartily glad for your sakes that I am, through the blessing of God, safe arrived in Boston. . . . I am now to address to the concerns of yo^r Colonie; against w^{ch} I have wth me two Quo Warrantoes as also against Road Island: his Ma^{tie} intends to bring all New England under one Governem^t and nothing is now remaineing on yo^r part but to think of an humble submission and a dutifull resignation of your Charter, w^{ch} if you are so hardie so (as to) offer to defend at law, whilst you are contending for a shaddow you will in the firste place loose all that part of your Colonie from Connecticut to N. Yorke and have

* Randolph Papers, vol. 4, p. 27.

† *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 173.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 78.

it annexed to that gouern^t, a thing you are to certainly enformed of already: & nothing will prevent, but yo^r obuiating so generall a callamitie to all New England by an heartie and timely application to his Ma^{tie} with an humble submission wth an annexed petition: to grant libertie of conscience, a confirmatiô & continuation to you of all y^e lands now under your Gouvernement and such other fauo^{rs} as yo^r wants can best dictate unto you: . . . S^{rs} bless not yourselves wth vaine expectation of advantage & spinninge out of time by my delay: I will engage tho' the weather be warme the writs will keep sound and as good as when first landed:”

But Connecticut was not so easily to be imposed upon. Gov. Treat summoned a meeting of his Council June 11th, which approved a reply to Randolph's letter.* After some courteous remarks they say: “As to y^e Quo Warranto's against this Colony of which we cannot tell w^t return to make to yo^rself concerning them yet You may assure Your Selfe that it is our duty and shall be our endeavour to approve our selves his Maj^{ties} faithfull and loyall Subjects, ready to observe what we shall understand to be our duty, thereby to divert whatsoever may justly procure his Majestyes Displeasure against us and for the obtaining his royall favour towards us:”

Three days later (June 14th) Gov. Treat sent this letter of Randolph to Gov. Dongan, of New York,† telling him it “was a private letter to myself and two other gentl” in my absence; the grounds of his opinion we know not, of any calamitie to N. E. if Conecticot Col. must fall and part of it be Westward but it may be as easie for us to fall that way as Eastward. I think I may say that by any of Mr. Randolph says to move us to encline eastward hath not at all p^rjudiced us against yo^r hono^r or yo^r Govern^t wth whom we have had so neighbourly a Correspondence and desire it may long continue so. Mr. Randolph enformes us of a Quo Warranto y^t is wth him against this Gourm^t but we have seen nothing (as yet) but abide according to his Majesties proclamation and Royall pleasure be further known,

* Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 175.

† Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 354.

waiting wth sylnce and patience what may be next, hoping that we shall in all things approve o^r selves his Ma^{ties} loyall and good subjects and shall finde his princely favo^{rs} and protection for our encouragem^t therein." His Majesty's proclamation,* referred to by Treat, was the letter of James II, dated June 26, 1685, to Connecticut—his first communication after his accession.—in which he said; "We shall at all times extend Our Royall Care and Protection to them in the preservation of their Rights and in the Defence and Security of their Persons and Estates which Wee think fitt that you signifie unto the Inhabitants of that our Colony, whereof you are Governor." Connecticut attached great importance thereafter to those expressions of the King.

The editor of the last two volumes of the Randolph papers, published by the Prince Society, says in reference to this correspondence,† "But Treat was a match for Randolph in duplicity." I fail to see it, and I think the remark an unjust one. He was a match for Randolph in ability, but the word "duplicity" is not properly used. The Massachusetts government wanted Connecticut annexed to that jurisdiction, and only nine days before (on June 2) Dudley's Council ordered "That the Secretary draw up and deliver to Mr. Mason and desire him to lodge with Mr. Blathwayte a Memoriall that if judgment pass against Road Island and Connecticut, or they resigne, it will be of great Importance and satisfaction to all his Maj^{ties} subject in those and this Colony to be annexed, under the same Government—at least that the free commerce that hath always been between the said Colonyes may be continued without which neither can subsist." Since the gentlemen in the saddle both in Boston and New York desired the poor but sturdy little Colony of Connecticut to be annexed to their domain, it was fair and proper for Treat to send the impudent letter of Randolph to Dongan. In fact he would have been negligent if he had failed to keep each of the two enemies apprised of the other's evil designs. Randolph feared Dongan, for he writes Povey at this time (June

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 345.

† Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 21.

27th)* “should he gett Connecticott Colony to whom he has also writt, we should be in danger of Starving for wee have great part of Our Corn from thence.” He says also: “I expected to meet some of the Magistrates of Connecticutt at the Narragansett but they were so weak as to feare I would make an attachment of the Quo Warranto and giue them personall trouble at that distance from home. I intend to be with them in 14 dayes tyme: then the letter from N. York may force them to a surrender also; otherwise you have tryed what a scire facias will do and must to that extream remedy. . . . Our Gom^t. will be quite ruined should but the Southern part of Connecticott Colony, which was (as by a Grant to that Colony) many yeares settled vnder the name of Quinnepiet or New Haven Colony consisting of 4 townes: and by their joint consent in 1662 annexed in their charter to Connecticott: The N. York Gom^t. makes vs pay after the Rate of 6 per cent for all Goods imported from thence to our Gom^t. besides those people will neuer agree to be subject to N. York: in regard they haue been all along part of vs.” On July 1st Randolph wrote Blathwayt† that he intended to go to Connecticut in ten days “and Giue them a Summons to appeare tho’ the Writts are out of Date.”

In his eagerness to secure a surrender Randolph at first made the absurd claim that the letter of the Governor and Council acknowledging his letter to the effect that he had the writs was a surrender. This is shown by Treat’s letter to Dongan of July 3d.‡ “Mr. Randolph in his laste letter to Gov^r and Companie seemes to wind up his resolve, instead of serving his Quo Warranto, to report as a private Gentleman lineally y^t he hath such a thing, and y^e receat of such a letter is owned by o^r Counsell, w^{ch} he saith, is sufficient for to justifie him at White hall without any further serving or showing any authority from his Majestie at all about this Colony, w^{ch} way of proceeding we understand not, seing its his Majesties proclamation to continue as we

* Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 179.

† *Ibid.*, p. 186.

‡ Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 355.

were till his Royall pleasure be manifested to us, and there we stand and must doe so for ought I see yet."

Gov. Treat called a special meeting of the General Court, on July 6th; this Court ordered an humble petition and address to the King. It was as follows:*

"To the most high and mighty Prince, James the Second, of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, King, Defender of the Fayth, &c.

"The humble Petition and Address of your loyal subjects, the Gov^r and Company of your Maties Colony of Connecticutt, humbly sheweth.

"That whereas we are informed that there is a Quo Warranto emitted against this your Maties Colony of Connecticutt, not yet com to o^r sight, we have taken this opportunity to prostrate o^rselves upon our bended knees at your Maties feet. most humbly begging your Matie, out of your great compassion and princely grace, freely to pardon and remit all such mistakes or faylures in o^r management of that power and trust of Government committed to us, (which upon the first intimation we are ready to reforme,) in and by his late Matie of blessed memory, Charles the Second, his Royall Grant to us, bearing date April 23d, in the fowerteenth year of his reigne, and graciously continued by your Maties Proclamation, (as) have proceeded rather from want of a right understanding in law than otherwise; and that your Matie would be gratioously be pleased still to continue this Maties Colony, happy in the full and free enjoyment of all o^r liberties and properties as formerly, and by your Royall comand recall the writ of Quo Warrantoe forementioned.

"For, may it pleasure your Matie, though we are a poore, yet a loyall people, very unwilling to doe any thing which may be unpleasant to o^r Sovereaigne; for we are resolved through the assistance of allmighty God to approve o^rselves your Maties most dutifull subjects, as we have been to your Matie's Royall predecessors (which, if we mistake not,) to our comendation was asserted by our late Sovereaigne, your Matie's most dear brother.

"Dread Sovereaigne, We humbly beg and earnestly beseech your Matie to continue us an intire Province or Government, within o^r known bownds and colony limits, which we conceive will be most for the proffit and health of your Maties subjects here inhabiting, and the contrary (no doubt) will be very prejudiciall to them, which may easily be evinced by good reason, and therefore hope to obteyn your Maties favoure and protection therein.

"Great Sr, We desire and humbly pray your Matie's favoure that we may still be continued in and enjoy o^r Christian liberties, without any interruption from any other.

"Most Gracious Sovereaigne, We beseech your Matie we may find grace in your sight and receive a gracious answer to this o^r humble addresse, that we may experience that in the light of the King's countenance is life, and

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 209.

his favour is as the clowd of the latter rayne; and we shall not cease to pray the God of Heaven, whoe is the King of Kings, to save, bless and prosper your Matie.

"We are your Maties loyall and dutifull subjects, The Governor and Company of this your Colony of Connecticut,

"Hartford, July 6, 1686.

Robt Treat. Govr.

"Signed by order of the Court,

p John Allyn, Secry."

It is doubtful if this address ever reached the king.

Randolph served the writs July 20-21, at 12 or one o'clock in the morning on the two Assistants, Major John Talcott and Secretary Allyn.* These Quo Warrantos, tested in the name of the infamous George Lord Jeffreys, in Latin, are now, together with the translation of the second writ by Secretary Allyn, among the State Archives. Randolph's account of his doings at Hartford are given in his letter to Andros (July 28)†: "I am safe returned from my wildernes work having travelled round the Country by way of Road Island to Stonington thence to Hartford from thence to Major Pincheons at Springfield and so to Boston which in England would make 300 miles. . . . and now to Hartford where on Wednesday last weeke I mett the Gon^r. treat. he gaue me great respect as he thought when he told me he had an honour for all persons who came from the Imperiall Crown: I tooke it so and in return presented him with the Quo Warr^{to}. told him the meaning and desired an answer (Major Talcott, Allen and one M^r Ffitch—Magistrates being present) wheither they would Surrender or send ouer an Agent instructed to make their defence. much tyme being spent I expected their resolues—but I was questioned by what Commission I was impowred to bring a Quo: Warr^{to} to them: I told them I left that upon record in Eng^d. ready to be seen by their Agent: I find them very indifferent wheither they surrender their Charter or suffer his Ma^{tie} to take it by processe at law: as also vnder what Gom^t. they fall but had rather be continued independent with some small alteration in their

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, pp. 356 & 357.

† Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 190.

Lawes: the truth is they are discouraged by Cap^t. George putting men aboard their vessels coming to Boston: and also by our Presidents disobliging carriage to the members of the Councill: but rather by private letters advising them to protract tyme that the presid^t. and others may enjoy their places of profit and advantage; hoping thereby to prevent or at least delay the Coming ouer of a Gon^r."

On the same day he wrote Blathwayt*: "I was with the governor of Connecticott and delivered to him the quo woranto. I suppose they intend not to stand it out, our councill have sent Major Pincheon and Capt. Winthrop to Hartford to perswade them to accommodate the matter, so as they may be added to the government here; how farr they will prevaie I know not; they are sensible of Mr. Dudleyes encroachment on all and every side, and are unwilling to trust him, and are strongly invited to come under New Yorke, but it is more for the publick advantage to have that colony continued to us." He wrote a third letter† that day, to the Committee of Trade and Plantations, in which he says that he has served the writs: "tho' by a tedious passage of almost 6 months from London to this place. the tyme of their return was laps'd: however the Gou^r. of Connecticutt vpon my deliuering the writt to him at Hartford on y^e 21 instant has appointed a meeting of the Gen^l. Court of that Colony to be called together to Surrender their Charter to his Ma^{tie} if not perswaded by the factious party here (who are unwilling to depend upon his Ma^{ties}. favour) to stand a tryall: onely to gain tyme & delay his Ma^{ties}. sending over a Gen^l Gou^r." Dudley was not quite so hopeful as Randolph. He writes (to Blathwayt July 31),‡ "What Connecticot will Do is uncertain and I am apt to beleive they will not resolve themselves, untill they be Determined by his Ma^{ties} Disposall of them." In the meantime Dudley wrote Treat (July 21)§ that he was sensible of the difficulty Connecticut was in. "and that your parts as lying

* Randolph Papers, vol. 4, p. 97.

† *Ibid.*, p. 100.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 196.

§ Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 358.

between the two seats of govern^t (i. e. Boston and New York) may be the more easily poysed either way if early sollicit^d.” Within a week (July 27) Dudley wrote Treat again* advising that it would be “ruinous” to Connecticut and inconvenient to Massachusetts for Connecticut to be annexed to some other government, and “sincerely” recommending an early application to the King.

This is what Connecticut did do, and as yet it was not at all what Randolph predicted or Dudley or Dongan wanted. As soon as they could be convened after the service of the writs, on July 28th, Gov. Treat called a General Court.

The Court voted and declared† that they judged it necessary, and accordingly ordered and agreed to appoint an Agent with power to manage their affairs in England; that the Agent should certify to the King of the time when they received the writs of Quo Warranto, and should petition the King for the continuance of their properties, liberties and privileges, civil and ecclesiastical, as formerly they had enjoyed them as an entire Province and Colony, and should inform the King that it would be very prejudicial and grievous to divide the Colony. They also voted “that if so be there be case of necessity, the Agent may have instructions in behalf of this Colony to accept and submit to such regulations as his Majestie shall think fit.” William Whiting, a London merchant who was an old Hartford boy, was appointed Agent. His instructions in the handwriting of Gov. Treat is an able document.‡ He was instructed to inquire about the former address and to present another address, “and to advise and consider well in what manner and by what means or mediation for access and a favorable hearing may be had; wherein great wisdom and foresight is to be used and to be followed with that due obsequies and sollicitation of such Ministers of State or others as you may have to do with all, until you have obtained your answer from his Majestie to our address.” If the matter is dismissed to a trial at law, Whiting was to advise with counsel in defending the Charter at common law or Chancery

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3. p. 363.

† *Ibid.*, p. 211.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

and retain able and faithful counsel to plead the case; he was to take advantage of the fact that both the times of the appearance named in the writ was passed, but if such writs be pleadable and bind the Colony to an appearance he is to endeavor that the Colony be informed and have sufficient time to make necessary defense. In case nothing will do, notwithstanding the Colony's addresses and all pleas made in our behalf and the Charter should be forfeited, Whiting is to consider whether by petition or some other way a suspension of entering judgment may not be obtained from the King until the Colony have notice and opportunity to make a further address. Finally, if he cannot obtain such suspension, he is to diligently inquire concerning the King's intention for the future disposition of the Colony, whether it is likely to be annexed to Massachusetts or New York, or whether it is to be divided between them. But he is to try to keep the Province entire and distinct, undivided and unbroken as hitherto. The petition to the King bears the same date as the instructions to Whiting.

The General Court then adjourned and the Governor and counsel replied* (August 4) to the letter of President Dudley in Council, in which they acknowledged the visit of their honored friends Major John Pynchon and Capt. Wait Winthrop and say, "Yet we must tell you we love our own things if we may enjoy them; but if we be deprived of them it is our duty to say the will of the Lord be done." The following words stricken out in the draft of this letter are significant: "As to o^r choys, whether we may enjoy it if we should make it is not certain. If we doe make it and should not enjoy it, what prejudices may follow is doubtfull." The next day Treat wrote Gov. Dongan† and asked his advice, and sent Major Gold down to New York to confer with the Governor, who replied‡ (August 13), "If therefore my advice be taken I would persuade to a downright humble submission and most effectual means to secure w^t is most advantageous, liberty, property, and what is of all things the most tender and dearest, Religion." As just stated,

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 364.

† *Ibid.*, p. 365.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

however, the instructions to Whiting, which were dated later than the advice from Gov. Dongan, and the advice of President Dudley, showed that the Connecticut people followed neither.

A regular session of the General Court occurred on October 14, but there is no mention of the Charter question other than an approval of what the Council had done, and we find no reference to the subject for more than two months. Randolph did not think the General Court should be permitted to meet.

All seems to have been quiet in Connecticut until the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros, the new Governor, in Boston, on December 20th. He had been instructed to demand the surrender of the Rhode Island Charter in pursuance of the declaration and address of that Colony, and "in case it shall happen, that upon the like writ of Quo Warranto, issued against the Charter of our Government and Company of our Colony of Connecticut, they shall be induced to make surrender of their Charter" to receive such surrender and take said Colony under his government.* On December 28th, at 11 o'clock at night, a messenger delivered to Gov. Treat a letter from Gov. Andros, written two days after his arrival in Boston, and a letter from Randolph, written the next day. Randolph's letter is as follows:†

"Gentlemen

"His Maty. hath commanded me to serve another Writt of Quo Warranto upon you. It's returnable the first of next Tearm. You find by a Letter from his Excellence Sr Edmond Andross, herewith sent you, that as yet a door is open for you, and 'tis your own faults if you fail of the enjoyments and indulgencies which his Maty. has been graciously pleased to grant to the Colonies of New Plym^o. and Road Island now annexed to this Governmt.

"By serveing of this Quo Warranto, and you not appearing to defend yourselves, judgmt. will be entered against you upon your nonappearance, so that tis not in your choice how next to dispose of yourselves. You have no way to make yourselves happy but by an early application to his Excellence, which is all, and more then you might expect to hear from me with whom you have so often and unkindly trifled with. However, I will not be disoblidged, but am, Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

Ed. Randolph."

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d Series, vol. 7, p. 162.

† Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 375.

Andros wrote:*

* * * * *

"I am commanded and authorized by his Maty., at my arrivall in these Parts, to receive in his name the surrender of your Charter, (if tendered by you) and to take you into my present care and charge, as other parts of the Government, assuring his Matys. good subjects of his countenance and protection in all things relating to his service and their welfare.

"I have only to add that I shall be ready and glad to doe my duty accordingly, and therefore desire to hear from you as soon as may be, and remaine,

Your very affectionate friend,

E. Andros."

The messenger at the same time served the third writ of Quo Warranto on Gov. Treat. This writ† is like the others in form, except that it is returnable on February 9, 1687, and that it was tested in the name of Herbert, the Chief Justice.

On the same day that Andros wrote to Treat, Randolph wrote Blathwayt as follows:‡

"I haue sent the Quo Warr^{to}. to the Gon^r. of Connecticut the Gon^r. and my indisposition would not allow me to vndertake so long a Journey this winter tyme. Its accompanied with a very easy letter from the Gon^r. to them and that attended with others from M^r Dudley M^r Wharton and others of the Councill and wee think to catch the Sturgeon." Sturgeon, like whale, were royal fish when caught near the land or thrown ashore. Randolph probably thought the surrender of the Connecticut Charter was a similar fortunate occurrence for the King. He also wrote§ (December 28) to Major Pyncheon at Springfield, advising him that he had sent a messenger to serve another writ of Quo Warranto on the Governor of Connecticut, "where I am well assured the physick is to operate. I hear the little Qnaecks there are endeavouring to divert their coming under one government, but his Excellency has his Majesty's commands to accept of their surrender, which they cannot avoid, they must for publicity.
. . . We have Road Island already, and I fear not Con-

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 376.

† N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. 23, p. 169.

‡ Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 209.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 139.

necticut. A dutifull submission will well become them, and place them in his Majesties favour. His Excellency will propose greater advantages for their ease and happiness than their weak phancy's can project."

We have seen that Connecticut was advised by Gov. Dongan of New York and Gov. Andros and Edward Randolph to make a submission to the King, and that their old compatriots, Major Pynchon and Capt. Wait Winthrop, had journeyed down to Connecticut to urge the same. And in fact it seems as though that was the only thing left for them to do unless they wished to take their chances in Court, where they were sure to meet the same judgment that the City of London and the Colony of Massachusetts had met. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Secretary Allyn was among those who thought it was best to submit. He wrote to Fitz-John Winthrop on January 7,* that they had been informed the King had authorized Andros to receive the resignation of the Charter if tendered and take the Colony under his own charge, "which," he says, "is the best we can expect, yet some are so blind that they cannot see what is their own interest." He informs Winthrop that they have not yet surrendered to Sir Edmund, but have called a General Court to consider the matter further, and he does not know what their resolves may be. He asks for a copy of Gov. Andros's commission and of the indulgence granted in religion and other favorable clauses for the purpose of encouraging the Connecticut people to a present submission. Winthrop replied† on January 13th as follows:

"I have seene his Maties. instructions to the Govr. under his Maties. signe manuell, to authorize and impower his Excellence to receive the surrender of yor charter, and take the people under his care and governmt in the same manner as in this and the other collonyes, comanding his Excellence to give an acct of yor behaviour and proceeding therein; and tis thought much better to accept of his Maties. gracious offer than to stand a tryall, wch can in noe wise be advantageable to the intrest of the collony for future improvemts, nor can any one believe that the issue of the tryall will fall on yor side, it being his Maties. pleasure to make some alteration

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th Series, vol. 3, p. 478.

† *Ibid.*, 5th Series, vol. 8, p. 301.

in all his governm^{ts} in America; and it will be pittie that many of yor selves should not be continued in place of trust. It is now in the power of his Excellence to call to the counsell such of yor selves as he shall think fit, and noe good man needs doubt that it will not fall to his share, but may be greatly hazarded if yor selves shall wayte the issue and consequence of a tryall. All such overtures are generally attended with much alteration, and many persons possibly may be imposed upon you that yor selves may not think suitable to promote the interest and prosperety of the people, wch his Matie doth greatly desire, and to that end has granted indulgence in matters of religion; and we are assured allsoe his Matie will graciously protect us in all our civill injoyments. I finde noe materiall alteration in the forme of judicature."

As soon as he was served with this writ Gov. Treat called a special meeting of the General Court, which met at Hartford on January 26. After attending to some ordinary matters, they passed two votes,* evidently in anticipation of losing their Charter; the first that the dues to the Colony Treasurer should be used to discharge the country's debts, and if any overplus remain, it was to be paid to the several counties in equal proportion according to the list of estates, by them to be improved for the encouragement of grammar schools in each town, or in defect of such to other schools. The second granted certain lands of the Colony, not theretofore granted, to Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, Middletown, Farmington and Kenilworth. The purpose of these acts was to secure funds and lands belonging to the Colony from seizure by the royal governor. The Court also left it with the Governor and Council to take care to do what was requisite to be done in reference to the Colony affairs in England and the last Quo Warranto. The Court also approved of a letter† to the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, although the record does not show it. This letter was considered the most important document in the subsequent controversy when the charter government was resumed. After reciting service of the Quo Warrantos and their appointment of Mr. Whiting as Agent to appear in their behalf, they say:

"May it pleasure your honour, we are his Majesty's loyal subjects, and we are heartily desirous that we may continue in the same station that we are in, if it may consist with his princely wisdom to continue us so: But,

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, pp. 224, 225.

† *Ibid.* p. 378.

if his Majesty's royal purposes be otherwise to dispose of us, we shall, as in duty bound, submit to his royal commands; and, if it be to conjoin us with the other colonies and provinces, under Sir Edmund Andros, his Majesty's present governor, it will be more pleasing than to be joined with any other province."

These were the words which were thought by the royalists to be a sufficient surrender of the Charter. That it was not intended as a surrender by the writers is conclusively shown by a letter* from Secretary Allyn to Fitz-John Winthrop a few days later (February 3). I believe this letter represents correctly the actual feeling of the General Court, which was that a surrender would look like giving away that which was precious to them, and that they could rather be passive than active in parting with their Charter. He writes as follows:

"I have hoped that this time we should have bin ready to have joynd or divisions & to have made an intire body, but by or statesmen it is thought not convenient yet, & they will not be moved beyond their pace; notwithstanding the advantage that offers to encourage a present union, they will not be persuaded to it. It lookes so like a giveing away that which is precious to them, which they can rather be passive then active in parting with it; & also those difficulties that threaten the standing out,—as the procureing his Majties displeasure, making our termes the harder, & looseing the litle share we possibly might have in the Governmt if cheerfully submitted to,—seemes of litle weight with too many. The result of prsent considerations are that we must stand as we are untill his Matie farther dispose of us, & all that is gained is or gentⁿ rather choose to be conjoynd wth Massachusetts than with any other Province or Colony. St, I doubt not but you will so exercise your wisdom & wonted kindness towards your friends in these parts, to keep off what may be inconvenient & to promoate their tranquility to the utmost. You will, I doubt not, see our General Court's letter to his Exceleencie, which smells too much of that scent that you took notice of in that which came from our Councill in December last & in your last tould me of it softly. It was drawn, I can assure you, more ceremoniously than his Excelency will receive it, & corrected & amended till it came to a button almost; but such as it is, you will find it, which needs pardon & a good construction from his Exceleencye, which I hope he will grant."

Winthrop apparently showed this letter to Randolph, as he uses almost Allyn's words in a letter† to the Committee of Trade

* Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th Series, vol. 3, p. 479.

† Randolph Papers, vol. 4, p. 152.

and Plantations (March 25). Randolph says: "My Lords I humbly propose it very necessary for his Ma^{ties}. Service that the Charter of Connectiutt Colony be prosecuted to effect. I know they will employ none to defend it, but let the Law take its Course, That (with the late Gom^t. at Boston) they may be passive & not be Said to giue away the poeoples Rights:" The same day,* and all this was two months after the General Court's letter to the Earl of Sunderland, he wrote the Lord President: "His Excellence besides my Serving a Second writt of Quo Warr^{to}. against the Charter of Connecticott, has vsed all meanes to a Submission & Surrender of their Charter. The inhabitants are very desirous to bee vnder this Gom^t. The addition of that Colony may in tyme raise about 3000^{lb} a yeare thro' the whole Dominion towards defraying y^e publick charg: they send formall & dilatory letters onely to gain tyme, but very much to the damage of the whole Territory, for as Our Shipping & fishery cannot be carried on without Supplies of Land provisions from thence, So neither can they find a markett for the produce of their Colony but with vs. It's therefore for his Ma^{ties}. Service that the prosecution against their Charter be pursued to effect:"

March 14th Randolph wrote† Blathwayt that Andros had tried all ways to engage the Colony of Connecticut to a surrender of their Charter, and adds: "Butt tis a great vnhappiness to find men so inclined to the old way, that they can hardly be brought off where the common interest (as they beleieve) is concerned; they are fond of Indian Purchases wee want a man vninterested to make a Judge to trye Their titles betwixt his Ma^{tie}. and them:" This reference to an attack on the Connecticut titles to land, and a letter‡ (of March 31) to Blathwayt urging him to assist in bringing Connecticut under their government and saying that Connecticut would bring in £1500 a year or more so that the governor could be supported and live honorably, show the real motive for their desire to get hold of Connecticut, and that motive was revenue, and that, not for

* Randolph Papers. vol. 4, p. 153.

† *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 216.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

public purposes, but for the pockets of the officials. Randolph even suggested that Blathwayt would get something out of it for he tells him: "The addition of Connecticut will improve that branch of your income."

He had previously written Blathwayt* (Feb. 3) regarding Connecticut: "they haue not yet concluded to Surrender their Charter," and had again represented that it would be detrimental to his Colony and ruinous to Connecticut if it were annexed to New York, because Massachusetts secured from Connecticut great quantities of pork, peas, &c., without which they could not send their fishing boats out to sea.

At the same time (Jan. 26) that they wrote to the Earl of Sunderland, Gov. Treat and the General Court, and Gov. Treat individually, replied to Sir Edmund Andros's courteous letter. We have no copy of these, but from the subsequent correspondence we learn that they were disappointing to Andros. He, therefore, wrote again† (Feb. 25) to Gov. Treat and Council indicating surprise that their previous letter showed no compliance with the King's pleasure and commands and saying: "Finding your delay on such mis(taken) notions, and yett professing your desires to demonstrate yo^r loyalty, obedience and duty, this is by advice of his Ma^{ties}. Councill here, to give you another oppertunity of suitable and dutifull resolves, soe much importing y^r owne wellfare, if you yett doe itt, and lett mee heare from you without delay, that I may not be wanting in my duty." Andros also wrote the same day a personal letter‡ to Treat, referring to the General Assembly as follows: "to whom as by my letter I yett give a farther oppertunity of doeing their duties, but wth perticular regard to y^rself, whom I have knowne, and some other Gentlemen amonge you, whose loyall and dutifull inclinations as intimated, I will not doubt, but whilst you have noe more regard to reiterated Quo Warrantos nor grations oportunityes by his Ma^{ties}. commands to mee, as signified to you att my arrivall, but still act with the most obstinate and adverse to his Ma^{ties}. service, you thereby hazard the advantages might

* Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 212.

† Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 379.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

bee to y^e Colony, and totally your owne, w^{ch} others even of this Colony have p^rvented by a considerable part of them now in place submitting and leaveing the refractory; and unless you shall doe yo^r part without delay, you will not only make mee incapable to serve you as I would, butt occation the contrary; butt doe hope better of you and whole Colony by yo^r good ensample and loyall acting in y^r station ere too late."

Gov. Treat again called a special meeting of the General Court. It will be remembered that he had done this when he received Randolph's letter stating he had the first two Quo Warrantos again when they were served, again when he received Andros's letter and was served with the third Quo Warranto, so now this was the fourth special meeting. Besides, the regular October meeting had considered the matter. That Treat should have referred this subject to five General Courts in less than a year notwithstanding the Governor and Council had been given by the General Court full power to act, and notwithstanding the great difficulty and inconvenience of such meetings especially in winter, shows how extremely careful Treat was in handling a matter of such transcendent importance to the Colony.

The General Court met on March 30th. On the opening day it received an important communication, which was no less than a formal advice in writing by Secretary Allyn, Major John Talcott and Captain Samuel Talcott, all assistants, that they should submit. It is as follows:*

"To the Hon^{ed} Gen^l Court. Gent^m: Upon the reasons which have been layd before you, with many more that might be given, we do declare that we do verily believe it is for the Advantage of this Court, Freely: and voluntarily to submit y^or selves to his Maties dispose, and not to begin or hold any further Suits in Law with his Mat^sy, which in noe wise can be expected will promote or profitt or wealfare.

"And for o^r own parts, we do declare, and desire you would take notice, we are for answering his Mat^s' expectation, by a present submission, and are against all further prosecutions or engagements by Law Suits in opposition to his Mat^s. known pleas^r for o^r submission.

30th March, 1687.

Per us { John Talcott,
John Allyn,
Sam^l Talcott."

* N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. 23, p. 174.

Instead of following the advice of Allyn and the two Talcotts, the General Court voted* "that they did not see sufficient reason to vary from the answer they gave Sir Edmund Andros to a motion of a surrender January last." The patents which they had previously ordered the towns to take out they now feared had not been properly executed, and so passed another vote that they were understood to be granted by the Governor and company, and that all patents should be signed again by the Secretary in the name of the Governor and company. They also ordered that in the future the deputy should attend the Court at the charge of the respective towns to which they belonged, and they ordered that a letter which was read to the Court be signed by the Secretary and sent to Sir Edmund Andros. In this letter† they say:

"For y^r Eccelencie's and their care of us and love to us, we return you or hearty thanks, but we humbly request that we may without offence inform your Honor that as matters are circumstanced wth us we cannot vary from what we informed your Excelency in or letters of January 26 past, by reason we have by or severall addresses formerly sent to his Matie, left orselves so fully to be guided and dissposed by his princely wisdom, and have not receed. any return or direction from his Matie, since, and therefore we request that a good neighborhood and an amicable correspondence may be continued between your Excelency and y^s. Colony till his Maties. farther pleasure be made known to us."

The General Court held their regular election and session at Hartford on the 12th of May. J. Hammond Trumbull says‡ of this session:

"It will be observed that the records of this session make no allusion whatever to the matters which might be supposed to have, almost exclusively, engrossed the attention of the Court. Not a word is said of the Quo Warranto, or of the reiterated demands of Andros. Unmoved either by threats or promises, the colony adhered to its determination to await an answer to the petition and address to the King, and to make no surrender of the charter except by his express command. The 'masterly inactivity' of those who guided the counsels of the colony, though it could not avert the necessity of temporary submission to Andros, was successful in its great object,—the preservation of the charter. Connecticut alone, of the

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 227.

† *Ibid.*, p. 380.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

New England colonies, might justly characterize the government of Andros as a 'Usurpation,'—to which no judgment against, or voluntary surrender of, her charter, gave color of right."

In the meantime, (on the 12th of March) the Colony's Agent in London, William Whiting, wrote a personal letter to Secretary Allyn. As this letter has never been published, and is in private hands, I give it in full as follows :

"London 12 March 1686

"Hon friend

"I have now writ you at Large in answer to yor Collony's Letter, these are to you as my old friend and schoole fellow, and to give you some intimation, which you may make use of as you please, as for yor charter I conclude it will in a little tyme be gon, if God do not incline his Majesty's Grace and favour towards you, whether it be gon by surrender, Judgment at Law or not defending it, is all one; yor Libertys seem to be lengthened out for some tyme, y^e quo warranto served by Mr. Randolph, cannot affect you, there must be new granted befor you will come to a tryall, as I am told. I cannot direct you, but pray God to do it, and that you may find favour in the heart of the King, and you may do what doth become loyall subjects and good Christians, as for my own part, I am so circumstanced that I cannot serve you, and uppon mature deliberation have come to a Resolution not to appeare in it, neither can I fynde any here willing to undertake it, though I know severall that have both more leisure and greater interest, therefor you must think of some of yor selves that are fit for it, who will appeare wth greater Advantage to you than any here can, I am tyred with writing so must beg yor excuse for not enlarging now, but wth all due respects to you and your

I am Sr

yor Reall friend &
Servt

Wm. Whiting"

On receipt of Whiting's letters, for he wrote one to the General Court, of which we have no copy, in addition to the personal letter to Allyn, Gov. Treat again assembled the General Court, which met at Hartford on June 15th. He informed the Court that he had received a letter from Whiting, to the effect that if they concluded to defend the Charter at law, they must send over one or more of themselves to manage it, and he asked the Court's consideration and determination of the matter. The Court voted* as follows :

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 237.

"This Court declared that considering the present circumstances of our estate, we do not see ourselves in a fit posture to raise money to send an agent to England at present, and therefore this Court desired the Govr., Dept. Govr. and Assistants, in their name and behalfe to write to Mr. Wm. Whiting, to give him the thanks of this Court for what he hath done for us, and to request him to continue (to) do for us what shall be requisite to be done, both in appearing for us, and in our behalfe to make answer to what shall be objected against us, and generally, to do whatsoever shall be needfull to be done for us. And this Court declared that they would give reasonable satisfaction to Mr. Whiting for what he shall do for us."

This Court also passed a vote,* which has given rise to considerable speculation by historical writers since that time. This vote is as follows:

"Sundry of the Court desiring that the Patent or Charter might be brought into the Court, the Secretary sent for it, and informed the Governor and Court that he had the Charter, and shewed it to the Court; and the Governor bid him put it into the box againe and lay it on the table, and leave the key in the box, which he did forthwith."

To me this call for the Charter does not seem strange. We have before seen that Secretary Allyn and the two Talcotts had formally advised the Court to submit. We know that there was a very strong opposition to doing this and Bulkeley tells us that the freemen were very angry with the Governor and Assistants when they subsequently accepted office under Sir Edmund Andros. It was a time of excitement and suspicion. The Charter at this time was in the possession of Secretary Allyn. What more natural than for some of the Court to have reproached Allyn and the others for recommending submission and to have said to him: "How do we know but you have already surrendered the Charter? Let us see whether we still have it." At any rate, it was called for and laid on the table, with the key in the box, and a record was made of this fact to show forever that the officers of the Colony had not betrayed their trust. Secretary Allyn sent for the Charter, and he it was who entered in permanent form on the Colony records the fact of its produc-

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 238.

tion. This seems to indicate that he wished to silence a charge that he had given up the Charter.

Two days before this General Court met, Andros wrote* to Gov. Treat and Council another letter (June 13), in which he tells them that he has been advised from England that by that time judgment would be entered against their Charter, and again urging them to a present compliance and surrender. At the same time (June 14th) John Saffin, who had been Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives at the time their Charter was forfeited, wrote Secretary Allyn a letter,† in which he protests that he never pretended to be a statesman, but yet as a private friend tells Allyn that it is believed that all parts of America, from North Carolina to the French, will be brought under a more immediate dependency and subjection to the King; that those who stand out longest will fare the worst at last, and that if Connecticut adheres to the West, they will be undone and part with their best friends.

Randolph arrived in Hartford with Andros's letter before-mentioned the day after the adjournment of the General Court; but Treat and Council wrote‡ (June 18th) Andros, "by what we took notice of their minds we conclude they would not have altered or varied any thing from what in their former letters they wrot unto you; for at their last session they resolved to continue in the station they are in, till his Ma^{ties}. pleasure be made known to them (for a change), and they haveing so declared, it is not in our power to vary or alter what they have so resolved; (therefore, according to the circumstances we stand under, we cannot make a surrender of o^r Charter at present) but must wayte his Ma^{ties}. pleasure for our farther disspose, which shall readily be submitted unto by us."

During the summer between the 11th of June and the first of September, Mr. Whiting, the London Agent, wrote four letters§ to Secretary Allyn. In the first he informs him that the General Court's letter of January 26th, to the Earl of

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 381.

† *Ibid.*, p. 382.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 384-386.

Sunderland, Secretary of State, was immediately after its receipt delivered to Lord Sunderland, and by him communicated to Lords of the Committee of Foreign Plantations, and by them to the King. He tells Allyn that Andros had not made any return to the Quo Warranto; "but it was his sense that you would surrender your Charter, and it is expected here that the next ship will bring an account of it;" although he had previously written that he would not act for them, he says he has taken care that if any processes should be made, he would have notice of it, and he adds, referring to the Charter, "I writ you formerly, and am still of the same mind, that it will be lost. I cannot see any way of preventing it." The royal authorities apparently intended to follow Randolph's advice to proceed against the Charter, for Whiting writes (on June 14) that on June 11th was passed a rule of court for Connecticut to give appearance the following day, or judgment would pass against it. He wrote again (August 9), that he took advice of counsel, and sealed in behalf of the Colony a warrant of attorney to one of the clerks of the Crown's office to appear in accordance with the requirements of the rule of court referred to, but, he tells them, although this power of attorney was signified to his Majesty's officer, there being no information then nor since given in against the Colony, "the case stands as it did." He says he does not know whether any information will be put in before the next term or not. The Colony has not been heard from, though several ships have come in lately from New England. It is reported that Connecticut is for a surrender of its Charter; but he himself does not believe it, and winds up by saying that, if they desire to answer any information given in against them and defend their Charter, they must send more money. The last letter (September 22) informs Allyn that no information has yet been given in against the Charter; but if it is intended for him to defend the Charter, they must send over more money.

These letters of Mr. Whiting show clearly that the Colony's letter to the Earl of Sunderland was not considered as a surrender of the Charter, because after its receipt they entered a rule of the court for the appearance of the Colony before the

last day of the term, and the Colony did appear by virtue of the warrant of attorney given by Whiting. As no information was filed against the Colony, the matter there rested. We have before seen from Secretary Allyn's letter to Fitz-John Winthrop that at the time the letter was written to the Earl of Sunderland, it was not considered by the writers to be a surrender of their Charter, and we learn from Whiting that it was not so considered by the English authorities. This ought clearly to dispose of the subsequent contention that the Colony surrendered their Charter.

Here then was the situation in the fall of 1687. Connecticut had absolutely refused to surrender its Charter. It had protested its desire to remain as it was, but would, though unwilling, submit to the royal commands, and preferred to be annexed to Massachusetts rather than New York. Gov. Dongan heard by letter from Whitehall of the Colony's preference for Massachusetts in its letter to the Earl of Sunderland, and it was a hard blow to him. He severely reproached* both Treat and Allyn for this preference. The General Court held its regular session in October; and it was destined to be its last regular October meeting for two years. The crisis could not be prolonged. The Colony's position was clear, and was well known. The King decided to take advantage of their expressed willingness to submit to his royal commands, even though they preferred otherwise, and so dropped the legal proceedings against the Charter, and directed Andros to annex Connecticut to his Government. Consequently Gov. Andros wrote to Gov. Treat on October 22nd the following letter:†

"Sr.

"This is to acquaint you that I have received effectuall orders and commands from his Matie, for Connecticott, annexed to this Government, (in a very gracious manner) with partieuler regard and favour to yrselfe. And resolve to send or be myself att Hartford abt the end of next weeke, pursuant thereunto to meete you and such Gentⁿ. as you shall think fitt for his Maties. sd. service wch I will not doubt to yr satisfaecon, and other his Maties. loyall subjects in yr parts; and remain, Sr,

"Yor very affectionate Friend,
(E. Andros.)"

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 386.

† *Ibid.*, p. 387.

Treat summoned a meeting of the General Court on Oct. 31, pursuant to Andros's request.

Even though he was feeling sick at the time, Andros could not have failed to enjoy his ride from Boston to New York in the fine October weather. His mounted guard, with the gentlemen, merchants, and members of his Council, must have made a picturesque procession through the New England woods; but their red coats could hardly have been more brilliant than the autumnal foliage through which they passed. The irritating, vexatious and long drawn out question of the Connecticut Government was at last to be settled as Andros desired.

We have several accounts of that highly interesting event in Connecticut history—the taking over the Government by Sir Edmund Andros.

This is the way Sir Edmund Andros reported it to Secretary Blathwayt: "I received his Majesty's commands for annexing Connecticut, which, having communicated to the Council, I resolved as necessary. I set out as soon as I could, and well accompanied for said services, and the first instant in the Court House at Hartford, all their magistrates being there, removed said Colony under my Government accordingly, without any contest."

A more picturesque account is contained in Randolph's report to Blathwayt,* November 23: "I wrote you in my last that his Excellence was not well: . . . yet vpon the notice of Connecticutts being added to this: he resolved to go him selfe and was attended by a Gard of Granadeers mounted and well ecquippd with all their habilaments: and nigh 60 Gents and Merets well acoutred with 6 members of the Council: he was hon^{bly}. receined and hauing called them together read his Ma^{ty}s. Commission and the Order of Councill to take them vnder his care: all their Deputyes were very busy in town and were present but he would not give them leaue to debat or aske questions but swore their Gon^r. and Cap^t. Allen of the Councill and dissolved their meeting: his presence was very necessary for seuerall Inhabitants of the Townes adjacent vpon N: York were

* Randolph Papers, vol. 6, p. 233.

prepared by Coll: Dongan to decoy in their neighbors and would have been troublesome."

A still more interesting account is that given by Gershom Bulkeley in his Will and Doom.* It is as follows:

"On Monday, Oct. 31, 1687, Sir E. A. (with divers of the members of his council and other gentlemen attending him, and with his guard,) came to Hartford, where he was received with all respect and welcome congratulation that Connecticut was capable of. The troop of horse of that county conducted him honorably from the ferry through Wethersfield up to Hartford, where the trained bands of divers townes, (who had waited there some part of the week before, expecting his coming then, now again, being commanded by their leaders,) waited to pay him their respects at his coming.

"Being arrived at Hartford, he is greeted and caressed by the governor and assistants, (whose part it was, being the heads of the people, to be most active in what was now to be done,) and some say, though I will not confidently assert it, that the governor and one of the assistants did declare to him the vote of the general court for their submission to him.

"However, after some treaty between his excellency and them that evening, he was the next morning waited on and conducted by the governor, deputy governor, assistants and deputies, to the court chamber, and by the governor himself directed to the governor's seat; and being there seated, (the late governor, assistants and deputies being present, and the chamber thronged as full of people as it was capable of,) his excellency declared, that his majesty had, according to their desire, given him a commission to come and take on him the government of Connecticut, and caused his commission to be publicly read.

"That being done, his excellency shewed, that it was his majesty's pleasure to make the late governor and Capt. John Allyn members of his council, and called upon them to take their oaths, which they did forthwith; and all this in that publick and great assembly, *nemine contradicente*, only one man said that they first desired that they might continue as they were.

"After this, his excellency proceeded to erect courts of judicature, and constituted the said Jno. Allyn, Esq., judge of the inferior court of common pleas for the county of Hartford; and all other who before had been assistants, and dwelling in the same county, he now made justices of the peace for the said county.

"From hence his excellency passed thro' all the rest of the counties of N. Haven, N. London and Fairfield, settling the government, was every where cheerfully and gratefully received, and erected the king's courts as aforesaid, wherein those who were before in the office of governor, deputy governor and assistants, were made judges of the pleas, or justices of the peace, not one excepted, nor (finally) excepting but accepting the same; some few others being by his excellency added to them in the several counties, not without, but by and with their own advice and approbation, and all sworn by the oaths (of allegiance and) of their respective offices, to do

* Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 3, p. 137.

equal justice to rich and poor, after the laws and customs of the realm of England and of this his majesty's dominion.

"His excellency also made sheriffs in the several counties and gave order for the making and swearing of constables in the several towns, etc.

"Hereupon the late charter government was by them (who before had the exercise of it) thought to be dissolved; as a pledge whereof, the secretary, who was well acquainted with all the transactions of the general court, and very well understood their meaning and intent in all, delivered their common seal to Sir E. A."

. . . * "the general court present, but passing no act against it, nor manifesting any dissent, but conduct his excellency to the court chamber, and place him in the governor's seat. hear his commission and make no protest? Do they think that nobody took notice how Sir E. A. was caressed by them? How brisk and jocund they were at that time? What liberal healths some of them (for all indeed are not addicted to such frolics) drank then, and afterwards in remembrance of it? Were not all his excellencies proceedings fair and candid? Did he use any fraud or put any force upon them?" . . .

"I do not say, or think, that they were most willing. Their former actions shew that they were too fond of their former sovereignty; but contraries, light and darkness, willingness and unwillingness, cannot consist *in summo gradu*. The particulars above mentioned demonstrate, that there was a deliberate willingness, and a prevailing willingness, consequently they were not most unwilling.

"And do we not very well know the man, (the most likely person in all the colony to vent, and his most untrue suggestion,) who personally attending upon his excellency, upon the Monday, Oct. 31, 1687, on his journey to Hartford, posted away before him to the river, and there by the fullness of his authority (for he was an assistant) created a constable, authorizing him to press boats and men to carry over his excellency and retinue without delay, and then posted away to Hartford, to give notice of his excellency's coming that way, (who was expected another way.) by means whereof the troop was posted away to Wethersfield to meet and conduct his excellency to Hartford, as aforesaid; and who afterwards was (if he be not grossly bely'd) as brag and brisk as a body-louse, that he was made one of the king's justices? and yet, doubtless, this man was most unwilling. It is our hard fate, that we should have any man pretending to government over us that hath no more truth in him than this comes to, and such men had need to remember Zedekiah."

This is the way Secretary Allyn entered the transaction in the public records,† after reciting the names of the members of the Court who were present:

"His Excelency Sr Edmond Andross Knt, Capt. Generall & Gov^r of his Maties Teritorie & Dominion in New England, by order from his Matie James

* Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 3, p. 149.

† Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 248.

the second, King of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, the 31 of October, 1687, took into his hands the Government of this colony of Conecticott, it being by his Matie annexed to the Massachusetts & other colonys under his Excelencies Government. Finis."

So far we have shown how the government in Connecticut was taken over by the royal Governor; but we have said nothing about the tangible Charter itself. Great importance in those days was attached to the physical possession of the Charter. It seems to have been thought, since the Charter originated by royal grant, that every vestige of it should be canceled and made of no force and effect. The Connecticut Charter was not given up; but both the original and the duplicate remained in the possession of the Colony. You all know the story of the Charter Oak. I see no reason to doubt it. There is an early mention of the seizure of the Charter by Gov. Wolcott in a communication on historical matters to President Clap in 1759. Gov. Wolcott was eight years old at the time Andros visited Hartford. He was a member of the Conference Committee in 1715 to pass on the resolution to reward Capt. Joseph Wadsworth for his conduct in preserving the Charter. This Conference Committee must have discussed all the details of the preservation of the Charter, and I think that Gov. Wolcott knew accurately and fully what the facts were. He wrote President Clap as follows:*

"In October, 1687, Sr Edmond Andross came to Hartford. The Assembly met and sate late at night. They ordered the charters to be set on the table, and unhappily or happily all the candles were snuffed out at once, and when they were lighted the charters were gone. And now Sr Edmund being in town and the charters gone, the Secretary closed the Colony records with the word *Finis* and all departed."

Gov. Wolcott also told President Stiles in 1764, as recorded in Stiles's Itinerary, "Nathaniel Stanley, the father of the late Col. Stanley, took one of the Connecticut Charters, and Mr. Talcott, late Gov. Talcott's father, took the other, from Sir Edmund Andros in Hartford meeting house—the lights blown out." In 1698 Capt. Joseph Wadsworth produced before the Governor and Council the duplicate Charter and affirmed that he

* Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 3, p. 331.

had the order of the General Court to keep it. The Council thereupon authorized him to continue as its custodian. In 1715 a bill was passed by the Lower House of the Assembly to award Capt. Joseph Wadsworth four pounds. This was negatived in the Upper House, and the Committee in Conference, of which Roger Wolcott was one, as above stated, agreed to give him twenty shillings. It is as follows:

"Upon consideration of the faithful and good service of Capt. Joseph Wadsworth, of Hartford, especially in securing the Duplicate Charter of this Colony in a very troublesome season when our constitution was struck at, and in safely keeping and preserving the same ever since unto this day: This Assembly do, as a token of their greatful resentment of such his faithful and good service, grant him out of the Colony treasury the sum of twenty shillings."*

There were two members of the General Assembly which voted to reward Capt. Joseph Wadsworth who were members and present at the session when Andros took over the government, namely, Capt. Cyprian Nichols of Hartford, and Col. Ebenezer Johnson of Derby.

The Rev. Thomas Ruggles, the minister in Guilford, and a son of the minister there of the same name, wrote in 1769 on the history of Guilford, and referring to Andrew Leete, says: "It is said and believed (that he) was the principal hand in securing and preserving the Charter, when it was just upon the point of being given up to Sir Edmund Andros. In his house it found a safe retirement until better times."

Of the names mentioned above, Talcott was Major John Talcott, an Assistant, and present when Andros took over the government, Nathaniel Stanley was a Deputy of the General Court and also present at that meeting, and was subsequently very active in the resumption of the Charter Government; Andrew Leete was also an Assistant and present at the meeting; Capt. Joseph Wadsworth was not a member of the Court, but his brother, John Wadsworth, was one of the Assistants.†

* Conn. Col. Rec., V, 507.

† The late Chas. J. Hoadly, LL.D., wrote a paper, published by the Acorn Club, on the hiding of the Charter in which he gives the facts and also some of his own conjectures.

There is no time to enter upon a criticism of the administration of Sir Edmund Andros. Some of his apologists have said that it was a fine idea to unite all New England under one government, so that it could resist attack from the outside. This would be true if each Colony had insisted on acting independently in war time. Those who make the above criticism overlook the body known as the Commissioners of the United Colonies, which had successfully conducted the great Indian War. They made blunders in their conduct of King Philip's War, but not so many or so important mistakes as were made later in the French and Indian War, with its Braddock's defeat, Lake George, &c., which was conducted under royal appointees. The inhabitants of Connecticut had always exercised the rights of Englishmen to be represented in the Government. Before they settled in Connecticut they had the right to be represented in Parliament, and while they lived in Connecticut they had the right to be represented in the General Assembly. When Sir Edmund Andros took over the Government they lost absolutely this right. His Government was, therefore, illegal and arbitrary, unless it was done with the consent of the governed. From the foregoing story I think it appears that Connecticut never did consent. They submitted, and I question very much whether if the General Court had consented to a surrender of these inalienable and constitutional rights of Englishmen, it would have been binding upon all the freemen of the Colony and their successors.

The administration of Andros in Connecticut does not seem to have been so burdensome as it was in Massachusetts. He attempted there to collect quit rents for confirmation of the titles to real estate of the land owners. Such a title rested upon possession, Indian purchase, and grant from the General Court under authority of the Charter. The General Court's grants, however, were not under the seal of the Colony, and, as Dr. Hoadly has pointed out, a corporation at common law could only act under its seal. The old corporation of Massachusetts having been dissolved, Andros attempted to take advantage of this and to demand fees for confirming titles. In Connecticut, however,

the General Court had been shrewd enough to issue patents to the towns which were under seal of the Colony to make good its previous grants as well as Indian purchases, and I do not find that Andros attempted to collect quit rents here. Among the laws passed by Andros and his Council, a copy of which was sent to Connecticut officials soon after he took over the Government, was one that town meetings should not be held oftener than once a year,* and then for the purpose of electing town officers. I have examined the records of a number of towns during this period, and find instances of several meetings within a year during his administration. So this law seems to have been disregarded in Connecticut. Andros was unpopular in Connecticut, and Gov. Roger Wolcott has preserved one anecdote illustrating it. He tells us: "Yet the discontents of the people made such impression upon him that one morning he told Doctor Hooker he thought the good people of Connecticut kept many dayes of fasting and prayer on his account. Very probable, says the doctor, for we read that this kind goeth not out by other means."

The outstanding fact in the foregoing narrative is the cleverness, patience and foresight of the Connecticut Government. They could not be coaxed by their friends, or threatened by their enemies to formally surrender their Charter or their government. They did submit, but were passive rather than active in doing so. Their conduct seemed almost as if they had in mind what subsequently happened. They were careful to leave a record that could not afterwards be used against them. The result was that interruption to Charter government here was only temporary. When the Prince of Orange landed in England and Andros was imprisoned in Boston, the Connecticut Charter was brought out, and Treat and Allyn and Fitch and the others at the demand of the freemen resumed their old form of government—not without opposition, for there were Tories then in Connecticut with as high notions as those Macaulay tells us about in England. But this resumed government persisted, and was recognized by the Crown, and lasted until 1818, and its effects until the present.

* Conn. Col. Rec., vol. 3, pp. 427, 429.

FIGHTING THE REVOLUTION WITH PRINTER'S INK IN CONNECTICUT: THE OFFICIAL PRINTING OF THAT COLONY FROM LEXINGTON TO THE DECLARATION.

BY ALBERT CARLOS BATES.

[Read January 15, 1917.]

We find it not an easy task now, after the lapse of more than a century and a third, to look back and discover exactly what were the feelings and temper of the people of Connecticut at the time of the actual breaking out of the hostilities which marked the beginning of the Revolutionary War. So far as can now be judged they were extremely jealous of any interference with what they considered their rights and liberties—the rights which they had exercised and preserved almost without exception from their first settlement here, of making and executing their own laws for their own government in the manner that best suited them; and the liberty of action without the interference or restraint of the home government in England, which amounted to a practical freedom and independence. Yet alongside of these somewhat advanced views there is good reason for believing that there was a deep and widespread feeling of patriotism towards and love for the mother country. The ties of nationality, kindred and association were strong. There was a hope and desire for peace and for a renewal of good feeling between the two countries. All talk or consideration of the possibility of war was deprecated, disunion was not desired. Yet with the forethought which is perhaps characteristic of Connecticut people, while they were using a conciliatory tone in their correspondence with the Colony's agent in England and with the representatives of British authority in this country, they were

at the same time making preparations for an armed struggle should such resistance become necessary, being desirous only for a place honorable to themselves and consistent with their own views.

When the news of the encounter at Lexington and Concord reached Connecticut on April 20, 1775, the day following the battle, the excitement was intense and the action immediate. As soon as they could gather and equip, companies of armed militia to the number of several thousands set out in a somewhat irresponsible manner for the scene of action. On their return a few days later they doubtless brought with them and circulated throughout the Colony vivid accounts of the bloody doings of that day when "the shot heard 'round the world" was fired, as well as the utterly untrue or greatly exaggerated accounts of horrible cruelties perpetrated by the British soldiers, which obtained a wide circulation and credence. An immediate change of feeling seems to have occurred at this time. There was little further talk of peace and reconciliation, but immediate and busy preparation for war. Such action was rebellion and treason; yet it is of interest to note the utter disregard of consequences with which acts were passed and resolutions adopted, any one of which might mean an ignominious death to all who were concerned in it. And not only was such action officially adopted, but it was officially printed and published to the world. Verily these were days of courage and brave deeds. And it is my purpose now to bring to your attention in detail these Revolutionary acts and resolutions which were officially printed and published by the authority of the government of the Colony of Connecticut, from the time of the Battle of Lexington until the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, when it was sagely remarked by one of the signers that now they must hang together or they would hang singly.

On the 26th of April, 1775, just one week after the Battle of Lexington, the General Assembly met in Hartford in response to the order of Governor Trumbull; and the second item of business transacted at this special session was the passage of the following resolution:

"That an Embargo be forthwith laid upon the exportation out of this Colony by water of the following articles of provision, viz: wheat, rye, indian corn, pork, beef, live cattle, pease and beans, bread flour, and every kind of meal, except necessary stores for vessels bound to sea; and that his Honor the Governor be, and he is hereby, desired to issue a proclamation laying such embargo and prohibiting the exportation of such provisions accordingly: Such embargo to continue till the 20th day of May next."*

If there was to be war it behove the Colony to conserve the food stuffs within her borders for the use of her own residents and soldiers. Eighty copies of this proclamation, practically one for each town (there were seventy-nine towns at this time including Westmoreland in Pennsylvania), were at once printed by Ebenezer Watson of Hartford.† No copy is now known.

This was followed by a "Proclamation stating the bounty and wages of soldiers,"‡ 400 copies of which were printed by Ebenezer Watson, the essential features of which were: That one-fourth part of the militia were ordered to be "forthwith inlisted" "for the special defence and safety" of the Colony; each was to receive a premium of 52 shillings upon inlistment and "supplying themselves with a blanket, knapsack, cloathing &c.," and a further premium of 10 shillings to each "who shall provide arms for himself, well fixed with a good bayonet and cartouch box," provision being made for the appraisal of such arms and payment for any that should be lost in service; each was also to receive "one month's advanced pay," and six pence per day for billeting money until other provision was made by the Colony. For wages a sergeant was to receive 48 shillings per month, a corporal 44 shillings, a drummer or fifer 44 shillings and a private 40 shillings.§ No copy of this proclamation is known.

Next came a "Vote of the General Assembly encouraging the making of firelocks,"|| no copy of which has survived, also printed by Ebenezer Watson:

* Col. Rec. XIV, 415.

† Conn. Arch. Rev. III, 610.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Col. Rec. XIV, 419.

|| Conn. Arch. Rev. III, 610.

"That the three thousand stands of arms to be procured for the use of this Colony be of the following dimensions, to wit: the length of the barrel three feet ten inches, the diameter of the bore from inside to inside three-quarters of an inch, the length of the blade of the bayonet fourteen inches, the length of the socket four inches and one quarter; that the barrels be of a suitable thickness, with iron ramrods and a spring in the lowest loop to secure the ramrods, a good substantial lock, and a good stock well mounted with brass and marked with the name or initial letters of the maker's name.

"That all the arms that shall be made and compleated according to above regulation in this Colony by the first day of July next shall be purchased and taken up by this Colony at a reasonable price."*

The next step was the issue of 400 orders authorizing inlistments,† two copies of which are now known, also printed by Watson, commonly known as "beating orders," in the following words:

"Jonathan Trumbull, Esqr, Governor of the Colony of Connecticut,

"To Greeting.

"I do hereby authorize and impower you, by beat of drum or otherwise, to raise by inlistment, a company of able-bodied effective volunteers within this Colony, to consist of one hundred men, including officers, for the defence of this Colony, during the pleasure of this Assembly, not exceeding seven months: And the colonels of the respective regiments of militia, and the several officers thereof, are required to afford you all proper aid and assistance: And the captains in the several regiments are hereby required to muster their respective companies when requested thereunto by you, for the purpose aforesaid.

"Given under my hand this first day of May, 1775."

For the purpose of carrying these orders into effect Watson printed 7,000 inlistment blanks‡ reading thus:

"I of do acknowledge to have voluntarily inlisted myself a Soldier, to serve in a Regiment of Foot raised by the Colony of Connecticut, for the Defence of the same, to be commanded by during the Pleasure of the General Assembly, and as they shall direct, not exceeding seven Months. As witness my Hand, the Day of in the Year of Our Lord, 1775."§

* Col. Rec. XIV. 420.

† Conn. Arch. Rev. III, 610.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.* I, 80. This is the official copy indorsed by the Clerks of both Houses.

To make provision for the commanding of those who should enlist, three hundred commissions were printed for officers.* These are too long to be copied in full here. An interesting point about them is that the governor granted these commissions and the power which they conveyed, "By virtue of the Power and Authority to me given, in and by the Royal Charter to the Governor and Company of the said Colony under the great seal of England." This differed from previous commissions in which the power was granted by the governor, "by Virtue of the Letters Patents from the Crown of England, to this Corporation, Me thereunto enabling." This difference of wording and omission of direct reference to the Crown could hardly have been accidental. These first 300 commissions were at once set aside and a new edition of 300 issued, Watson the printer noting "the former 300 being from an imperfect copy."† This careless preparation of "copy," and the giving of any of the resolutions and proclamations into the hands of Watson of Hartford for printing, are both evidences of the haste deemed needful in bringing these matters before the people, for the official printer of the Colony was Timothy Green whose printing office was located at New London. To him under all ordinary circumstances the "copy" for these would have been sent for printing.

Arrangement having been made for the raising and payment of troops and the manufacture and purchase of arms, it was necessary to provide for payment for these "incident charges of government."‡ For this purpose the Assembly ordered the printing with all convenient speed of £50,000 in bills of credit of suitable denominations.§ This work was intrusted to the Colony's printer Timothy Green of New London, who appears to have completed the work by May 26. Forty thousand were printed; this probably meaning that number of sheets of bills, each sheet being composed of several bills which were cut apart before issue. In addition to the printed text these bills con-

* Conn. Arch. Rev. I, 76; Rev. III, 610.

† *Ibid.* III, 610.

‡ Col. Rec. XIV, 432.

§ *Ibid.*

tained ornamental designs and borders, probably engraved on wood blocks, the work of John Hallam, by whom they had been engraved for the bills issued during the previous January.* One of these bills reads thus:

"The Possessor of this Bill, shall be paid by the Treasurer of the Colony of Connecticut, Two Shillings & Six Pence, Lawful Money, by the Tenth day of May 1777 Dated May 10th One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Five. By order of Assembly Committee"

Bills for two shillings six pence, ten shillings, twenty shillings and forty shillings are known, and there were doubtless other denominations issued.

One more resolution adopted at this session was separately printed by Watson in an edition of 400 copies, two of which are now known.† It is called "Vote of the General Assembly recommending sobriety," &c., and reads thus:

"Considering the dark and gloomy aspect of Divine Providence over this Colony and land, and that it is the indispensable duty of every people suffering under the afflictive chastisements of a righteous God, with deep repentance, supplication and amendment of life, to endeavour by all the ways which God has prescribed to avert his anger and incline him to become reconciled to his people:

"It is therefore resolved by this Assembly, That it be recommended to all the ministers of the gospel in this Colony, that they earnestly endeavour to dissuade their several congregations from all excess, and all diversions which may be improper in the present day of distress; and that both they and their people cry mightily to God, that he would be pleased to spare his people and be gracious unto them, and visit them with his loving kindness and tender mercies, and not give up his heritage to reproach, but preserve unto them their great and important rights and privileges, and guide and prosper the public councils of this Colony and land, and in this hour of difficulty and distress graciously manifest his power in the deliverance and salvation of his people, to the glory of his own name."

After the adjournment of the session, on May 6th, two laws which it had enacted were issued in the usual form of the session laws by Timothy Green "Printer to the Governor and Company." The edition of session laws usually printed at this period was 1,100 copies, which was probably the number printed in this instance. Their form is a small folio paged continuously

* Conn. Arch. Rev. III, 596.

† *Ibid.*, 610.

(along with previous session laws) to follow the latest general revision of Acts and Laws, which in this case was the edition of 1750 with the addition of the compilation of 1768; the pagination of this issue being 409, 410. At the top of the first page a cut of the royal arms appears, and the heading begins, "Acts and Laws, Made and passed by the General Court or Assembly of His Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut." The first of the two laws here printed is "An Act to exempt, for a limited Time, the Persons of Debtors, from being imprisoned for Debt," because "in the present Situation of our public Affairs, it will be prejudicial to the Colony to confine Persons in Goal for Debt." This exemption to continue until the rising of the next October Assembly. The second law was the repeal of an act concerning book debts, as "a further Continuance of said Act in Force at this Time, may prove very inconvenient and prejudicial." This act had provided that no book debt could be recovered which had not been balanced within six years after it was contracted or before March 1, 1776.

A pretty lively ten days' session this, with its nine separate imprints.

The Assembly met again in regular session, this being the Court of Election, on May 11, 1775, five days after the adjournment of the special session. Pursuant to long established custom the Assembly immediately after organization adjourned to the meeting house where its members listened to the annual election sermon, preached on this occasion by Rev. Joseph Perry, pastor of the First church in East Windsor. Pursuant to further custom a copy of the sermon was requested for publication, and it was printed by Watson in an octavo pamphlet of 23 pages, in an edition of 350 copies.* Mr. Perry in the outline of his sermon, which took for its text Nehemiah, second chapter, 17th, 18th and 19th verses, says: "These words contain every thing suited to our case in this dark and troublesome day.

"We have here our own condition exactly expressed, 'Ye see the distress that we are in, how Jerusalem lieth waste, and the gates thereof are burnt with fire.'"

* Conn. Arch. Rev. III, 610.

An echo of Connecticut's expedition, which resulted in the capture this month (May) of the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, is found in Watson's bill for printing* (dated January 1776), where there is an item of 1,000 passes for Col. Arnold from Crown Point last May, received by Col. Henmen.† This capture was the most important event that had thus far taken place in this budding war for freedom. Just what these passes were, or why so large a number were printed, the writer is unable to say.

The most important act of this session, and one of the most important issued during the war, was "An Act for regulating and ordering the Troops that are, or may be raised, for the Defence of this Colony," of which an edition of 650 copies, covering 19 duodecimo pages, without title or imprint, was printed by Watson.‡ Only three of these can now be found. It was a throwing down of the gauntlet for the cause of freedom amounting to practically a declaration of war. The fifty-three separate articles for regulating and ordering the troops are preceded by a preamble of seven paragraphs recounting at length the grievances of the colonists. The following long quotation from it is much condensed:

"Whereas God in his providence hath been pleased to bestow upon the inhabitants of this colony all the rights, liberties and immunities of the free born subjects of England, which have been established and confirmed by royal charter; which rights were the birthright of our ancestors in England, who rather than submit to religious and civil tyranny chose to leave their native country, and reared the English constitution in these wilds, and have ever since the sincerest loyalty to their sovereign and the warmest affection for their brethren in England. And whereas since the close of the last war, parliament claiming a right to bind the people of America by statute in all cases whatsoever, hath in some acts expressly imposed taxes upon them, and under various pretenses imposed rates and duties, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty. And whereas standing armies [have been] kept in time of peace: and it has lately been resolved in parliament that colonists may be transported to England and tried there upon [certain] accusations, and such trials have been directed in [certain] cases. And whereas the port of Boston is shut up, the charter of Massachusetts destroyed, and all hope of justice taken away in certain

* Conn. Arch. IV, 187.

† Benjamin Hinman.

‡ Conn. Arch. Rev. III. 610.

cases. And whereas a tyranny [is] erected in the province of Quebec, and the New England colonies are in a great measure deprived of their trade and fishery. And whereas all our humble, dutiful and loyal petitions for redress of grievances have been treated with contempt or passed by in silence, and the refusal to surrender our just rights hath been stiled rebellion, and vengeance inflicted on [a neighbouring colony], all which acts are evidently intended to force or terrify [our countrymen] into submission to parliamentary taxation, or at least into a surrender of their property at the pleasure of the British parliament, and in such proportion as they shall please to prescribe. And whereas although this assembly wish for no new rights and privileges, and desire only to preserve their ancient constitution as it has been understood and practised upon from the beginning; freely yielding to the British parliament the regulation of our external commerce, excluding every idea of taxation for raising a revenue without our consent, and are most earnestly desirous of peace and deprecate the horrors of war: Yet when they see military preparations against them at hand, and the hope of peace and harmony placed at a greater distance, being fully determined never to make a voluntary sacrifice of their rights, not knowing how soon parliamentary and ministerial vengeance may be directed against them immediately, as it is now against Massachusetts, have thought it their duty to raise troops for the defence of this colony. And whereas it is necessary that such troops should be made acquainted with their duty. Therefore, these articles are enacted."

Pretty strong language this for King George and his ministers to read.

This act did not have at its beginning the Royal Arms and usual royal style.

A resolution was adopted continuing until the first day of the following August the embargo on the exportation of various food stuffs which had been laid in April; and as before, eighty copies of the resolution were printed by Watson,* no one of which can now be found.

Another document printed at this time by Watson was an "Extract of an act for assembling and equipping men."† Just what this was does not appear, as no copy of it can be found. No order for such a document is found in the official records of this session. It appears to have been printed on the 30th of May, the day before the rising of the Assembly.

"For payment of incidental charges of government" it was ordered, "That there be forthwith imprinted the sum of fifty

* Conn. Arch. Rev. III, 610.

† *Ibid.*, 611.

thousand pounds bills of credit on this Colony, equal to lawful money, of suitable denominations . . . , and of the same tenor with the late emission";* that of April. These were printed by the official printer, Green of New London, who appears to have completed the work on or before July 8. The edition was 66,100,† probably meaning, as on the occasion of the previous issue in April, that number of sheets each composed of several bills. In form, ornament and wording they were similar to the previous emission of April. They were dated June 1, and became payable in three years. Bills of this issue for two shillings six pence, for six shillings, for ten shillings, for twenty shillings and for forty shillings are known; and there may have been other issues.

The public acts and laws of this May session, printed the following month by Green, the official printer, at New London, consisted of one folio leaf, its pages numbered 411 and 412. It contained but three acts, none of which have to do with the Revolution. The edition was 1,100 copies.

The bills paid by the Colony for the expenses of this session include the following items, which doubtless aided in deliberation and stimulated to action on the important measures considered and adopted:‡

To Cyder and Small Beer	2s	0d
To 1 Barrel Cyder	10	0
To 2 half Barrels Beer @ 6/ each	12	0
To Small Beer	1	0
To pipes 3/6 To Tobacco 1/	4	6
To Beer	3	0
To Cyder and Beer	1	8
To Cyder from Mr Bulls	1	4
To Tobacco		6

Certainly there could be no complaint of extravagance in these items, such as has been sometimes heard in recent years.

The short session of the Assembly in July 1775 was not fruitful in official publications, only one being found to its

* Col. Rec. XV, 14.

† Conn. Arch. Rev. III. 622.

‡ *Ibid.*, 609.

credit. This was "An Act or Law" printed by Timothy Green, and printed with the usual heading of the Royal Arms and in the regular form of the session laws. But instead of paging continuously after the acts of the May session its two pages are left unnumbered, and are not taken account of in the succeeding pagination. And further, instead of the usual edition of 1,100 copies only 170* copies were issued. Two of these are now known to exist. Its title is: "An Act for supplying the Troops ordered to be raised for the special Defence and Safety of this Colony with necessary Fire-Arms." And it provides for supplying with good and sufficient arms each soldier who should enlist into the seventh or eighth regiments then about to be raised. A premium of ten shillings was to be allowed each soldier furnishing his own arms, or a like sum to any person supplying a soldier with arms. Then, if necessary to supply the soldiers, the selectmen were directed to purchase arms to supply the men inlisting from their town; and further, if necessary, authority was given for impressing arms from those who were not on the militia roll, for the use of which four shillings was to be paid. Provision was also made for making payment for arms lost in the service.

Another issue of bills of credit to the amount of fifty thousand pounds was authorized by the Assembly at this (July) session. They were to be dated July 1, 1775, and made payable on or before the last day of Dec. 1779. These were printed by Timothy Green at New London, who appears to have completed the work by Aug. 5.† He states the issue as 78,250, probably referring to the number of sheets of bills and not to the bills themselves. Bills of this issue for two shillings, for two shillings six pence, for six shillings, for ten shillings, for twenty shillings and for forty shillings are known; and other denominations may have been issued.

The Continental Congress on June 12 had issued a proclamation for a fast to be kept on July 20. The day was observed in Connecticut; but whether or not Governor Trumbull issued a

* Conn. Arch. Rev. I, 322.

† *Ibid.*, III, 622.

proclamation for the occasion is not known. It is to be presumed that he did, although no evidence that he did so is found.

The Governor and Council of Safety, at a meeting held August 17, took the following action:*

"On consideration of the scarcity of pork and other provisions and the vast consumption of it by the army, it is tho't necessary &c. and for the safety of the Colony that the Embargo laid and continued by the Assembly to the 20th inst. should be revived and further continued; and the Governor is advised and desired to issue his proclamation to lay and continue the same to the 20th of October next: which was done accordingly and sent to the printer. He directed to send to each town clerk and naval office in the Colony."

This proclamation was printed by Green, the official printer, at New London in an edition of 140 copies.† No copy is now known.

In September of each year the freemen in each town held a meeting and expressed their choice of men to be placed in nomination to be voted for the following April for Assistants, or members of the Upper House of the Assembly, each freeman having the right to make choice of twenty for the position. The result of the choice in each town was laid before the October session of the Assembly, and the twenty who were found to have received the greatest number of votes were formally placed in nomination.

Beginning some years earlier than this and continuing many years later there was issued after each October session of the Assembly a small printed broadside giving the names of "The Gentlemen nominated by the Votes of the Freemen to stand for Election in May next."

While no copy of the printed list of nominations authorized by the session of October 1775 is known, there is no reason to question its having been issued as usual from the press of Timothy Green.

At the session of October 1775, attention was directed to the fact that the listers in sundry towns "from a mistaken Apprehension of their Duty" "have, by Mistake, omitted to insert in

* Col. Rec. XV, 119.

† Conn. Arch. Rev. I, 322.

the General List of Polls and rateable Estate in such Towns, made up and sent to this Assembly, the Polls of the Officers and Soldiers belonging to said Towns, who are abroad in the Service of this Colony, in the Army." "Which to prevent," it was resolved that the lists as sent in should be received, and the listers in any town who had omitted to insert such polls were directed to make up and send in to the Assembly an additional list of such polls. Further, notwithstanding the fact of the omission, it was directed that such towns should receive their proportion of school money upon the additional list.

This resolve was printed at New London "by T. Green, Printer to the Governor and Company," in the form of a small folio broadside. Two copies are known.

Like many of the printed resolves of the time, this one bore a cut of the royal arms at the top, and at the end the printed certification: "A true Copy of Record, examined by George Wyllys, Sec'y."

The laws of this session were printed, in the usual edition of eleven hundred copies, by Green at New London. They occupied pages 413 to 415, inclusive, leaving a fourth page blank, and comprised two acts each having the title "An Act in further Addition to an Act, entitled, An Act for the forming and regulating the Militia, and for the encouragement of Military Skill, for the better Defence of this Colony." The first of these provided that the arms and ammunition of all "who are by Law obliged to keep Arms" should be semiannually "reviewed." The second provided that every trooper should "provide himself with a suitable Horse and Furniture," and "Fire Arms and Accoutrements"; and that every trooper failing thus to provide himself should be discharged from the troop, and should then by the captain of the foot company "within whose Limits the same shall happen" be enrolled into such foot company. A penalty for neglect of the captain of a foot company thus to enroll is provided, also a proviso for a trooper who is unable to secure needed equipment.

On the fourteenth of October, 1775, "Jonathan Trumbull, Esquire, Governor of the English Colony of Connecticut," "by

and with the Advice of the Council, and at the Desire of the Representatives, in General Court assembled," issued a proclamation appointing Thursday, November 16, as a day of public thanksgiving. As had been the unfailing custom, this proclamation ends with the invocation "God save the King." In spite of the "distressing Calamities, arising from the unhappy Measures the British Administration are pursuing with the American Colonies, and the Civil War which is brought upon us in that Pursuit: And also in the Sickness and Deaths which God has sent into our Armies, and many of our Towns:" abundant reason for blessing is found because (among other reasons) he "Hath remarkably preserved our Troops, and the Lives of our People in some Places which have been cannonaded, and little Damage hath been done to the Habitations of the People in such Dangers." Prayers are offered for the King, Queen, Prince of Wales and the rest of the Royal Family. "Sincere and hearty Praises to God" were recommended "For hitherto preserving so many of the Rights and Priviledges of this Colony, and causing so great Harmony and Union in America." Also prayers "That God would inspire the King's Heart with Wisdom to discern the true Interest of all his People; guide and dispose him to such Measures as may happily tend to their Peace, Prosperity and Happiness: That He would confirm and increase Union and Harmony in the Colonies, and throughout America, upon the Principles of Virtue and Liberty."

It bears no imprint; but comparison of the cut of the royal arms at the head of the proclamation shows that it was printed from the same block as one printed a few years earlier by Samuel Green at New Haven, and indicates that it was printed at that place by Thomas and Samuel Green. The number of copies issued is not known; but it probably was about 340. Three are now known.

Again on December 19, 1775, Governor Trumbull from "the Council Chamber in New Haven" issued "A Proclamation," which as usual ends with "God save the King." On this occasion it was "For a Day of public Fasting and Prayer" on January 17, 1776; and it opened with the following preamble:

"Whereas it hath pleased the most high God, blessed forever, the supreme and righteous Ruler of the World, to bring upon this Colony, and the other British Colonies on this Continent, grievous and distressing Troubles, by permitting the Administration and Rulers of our Parent State, to make a solemn Declaration, that the Parliament of Great Britain hath a Right to make Laws binding upon the Colonies in all Cases whatsoever,—and in Pursuance thereof have imposed Taxes upon us without our Consent; deprived one of the Colonies of their most essential and chartered Privileges; sent over a Fleet and Army which have engaged us in a Civil War; destroyed many Lives, burnt two of our flourishing Towns; captured many of our Vessels that fell in their way; prohibited and destroyed our Fishery and Trade; hostilely taken from the Inhabitants on our Sea Coast and Islands, Live Stock, and other Articles of private Property, and threaten us with general Destruction for no other Reason known to us, than that we will not surrender our Liberties, Properties and Privileges, which we believe God and Nature, the British Constitution, and our sacred Charters give us a just Right to enjoy.—"

"The Mercy of God" was beseeched "to remove the awful Calamities we are under," "restore, preserve, and secure our Liberties," "guide the Continental Congress," "continue to turn the Counsel of our Enemies to foolishness, and blast every evil Design against us," and for many other worthy and pious purposes.

No imprint appears; but comparison shows that the cut of the royal arms at the top of the proclamation is printed from the same block used three years earlier by Thomas and Samuel Green of New Haven, and it was no doubt printed by them. The edition was presumably about 340 copies. Two are now known.

The first action taken by the General Assembly at its special session held in New Haven on the fourteenth of December 1775, was the passage of "An Act for raising and equipping a Body of Minute-Men, to be held in Readiness for the better Defence of this Colony." The act provided for the voluntary enlistment of one fourth of the militia in each company, together with such other able bodied men not enrolled in the militia as should desire to enlist, into companies of minute men who should equip themselves and "hold themselves in constant readiness to march on the shortest notice for the defence of this or any other of the United Colonies." It is printed on both sides of an unpagged

half sheet of the usual size used in printing the acts and laws, and has a cut of the royal arms at the top of the first page; but it does not have the regnal year or the short title of the act at the top of each page, as was customary in printing the session laws. There is no imprint; but the cut of the royal arms at the top of the first page indicates that it is the work of Thomas and Samuel Green of New Haven. A single copy is known, which was formerly the property of William Williams, signer of the Declaration and son-in-law of Governor Trumbull.

The next business of the session was "An Act for encouraging the Manufactures of Salt-Petre and Gun Powder." The act provided for a bounty of ten pounds for every hundred pounds weight of saltpetre manufactured within the Colony during the last seven months of 1776, for inspecting the same, for the erection of works for its manufacture, for its non-exportation and for its purchase by the Colony; also for a bounty of thirty pounds each for the first two powder mills erected in the Colony under permission from the Assembly. This act is also printed on both sides of an unpagcd half-sheet of the usual size and has a cut of the royal arms at the top of the first page. Unlike the preceding act, this one bears the regnal year and the short title of the act at the top of each page. It is without imprint; but the cut of the royal arms indicates that it is the work of Thomas and Samuel Green of New Haven. Three copies are known.

The third item of business of this two weeks' session of the Assembly was the passage of "An Act for restraining and punishing Persons, who are inimical to the Liberties of this, and the rest of the United Colonies, and for directing Proceedings therein." This also was separately printed on both sides of an unpagcd half sheet, and in form and style was identical with the previous "Salt-Petre and Gun-Powder" act, and is evidently the work of the same printers. This act had more sting to it than any previously passed. It provided that any person taking up arms against any of the United Colonies, or inlisting into the Ministerial army or navy, or acting as pilot, or supplying stores or intelligence, or who "in any other ways shall aid or assist them," upon conviction should forfeit all his estate

to the Colony and be imprisoned for not more than three years. Any person writing or speaking against the Resolves of the Congress of the United Colonies or the Acts and Proceedings of the Assembly of Connecticut, "made, or which hereafter shall be made for the Defence or Security of the Rights and Priviledges of the same," upon conviction should be disarmed, rendered incapable of holding either civil or military office, "and shall be further punished either by Fine, Imprisonment, or Disfranchisement, or find surety of the Peace and good Behaviour as said Court shall Order." Upon complaint against any persons that "they are Inimical to the Liberties of this Colony" they were to be disarmed and not allowed to keep any arms until they could satisfy the authorities of their friendliness to the Colony. And in case any convicted persons refused to give up their arms, the proper officers were "authorized to raise the Militia of the County, or so many of them as they shall judge needful," to assist in disarming such persons. The estates of persons who had placed themselves under the protection of the Ministerial army or navy were ordered to be seized and administered for the benefit of the Colony. Two copies of this act are known.

It was stated by the Assembly at this December session that non-commissioned officers and soldiers belonging to the Colony and serving in the Continental Army were liable for poll taxes; "yet, considering the Fatigues and Importance of the Service, and being desirous to encourage the future Service, and to show some gratuitous Token of Approbation to those who have behaved well, and served out faithfully the stipulated Time by them entered into," it was resolved that soldiers who served during the last campaign should be exempted from paying poll taxes laid on the list for 1775, and those who had already or should hereafter enlist for the ensuing campaign should be exempted from paying poll taxes on the list for 1776. It should be remembered that at this time a poll tax was not a definite stated sum; but each man's poll was listed for a certain sum, and on this sum he paid a tax which varied from year to year according to the rate of taxation. This resolution was printed

as a small folio broadside at New London by Timothy Green, in an edition of six hundred copies.* But two copies are known.

The Assembly in 1769 had established the "Norfolk Militia Exercise" as the official "military exercise" for the militia of the Colony; but in order to act in harmony with the Continental Army, which had "adopted the military exercise usually called the Manual Exercise as ordered by his Majesty in the year 1764, which is esteemed preferable in many respects to the said Norfolk Militia Exercise, for the purpose of preparing the soldiery for real service," it was resolved at this session that the militia of the Colony should for the future observe and practice the Manual Exercise. Commanding officers were directed to conform to this resolve, "any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

An act was passed empowering "the Commander-in-Chief of the Army . . . or any officer in the service of the said United Colonies commanding any detachment or outpost to administer an oath and swear any person as to the truth of any information or intelligence . . . relative to the public service."

These two, the resolve and the act, were printed together at New London by Timothy Green in the usual form of a resolve. They form a broadside of one half sheet headed with the royal arms. The edition was six hundred copies,† of which only two are now known. The paper on which they are printed is of a distinct blue grey tint, and on a copy which was probably sent to Governor Trumbull, Green has written "S^r This Paper is too dark but is the best I had for the Purpose." Evidently the paper mill established some years previously at Norwich by Christopher Leffingwell, and for one year subsidized by the Colony, was unable to produce the best quality of printing paper in sufficient quantities.

The "Acts and Laws" of this session, comprising pages 417 and 418, were printed in the usual form in an edition of eleven

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 188.

† *Ibid.*

hundred copies* by Timothy Green at New London. For the last time the regnal year appears at the top of each page and the crest of the royal arms at the head of the first page of the issue. The issue contains two acts, both of which have to do with matters revolutionary. The first relates to the sale by the Colony's treasurer of escheats, that is lands confiscated because their owners were loyalists, or lands for which no owners could be found. The second relates to the capture of any enlisted soldier or mariner who should desert, and the punishment of any person who should conceal such deserter.

Among the bills for the expenses of this (December) session the following items are found:

To Pipes & Tobacco	44s	0d
To Tobacco more	4	0
For a Barrel of Syder	6	0
For three Stone mugs	3	0

Why such an unheard of consumption of tobacco? Are we to suppose that all the members of this Assembly were confirmed smokers? Or are we to assume that Governor Trumbull, like Governor William the Testy, in the Knickerbocker History of New York, was "wrathful and unyielding" over something, and had to be "gradually smoked into terms."

An attendant upon this Assembly was paid for thirteen days' service and for ringing the bell. And as (Sundays excepted) there were but thirteen days from its first sitting on the fourteenth to its adjournment on the twenty-eighth, it would appear that a session was held on Christmas day.

Governor Trumbull issued four proclamations in January, 1776, on the 12th, 18th, 20th and 27th of the month.† While no copies of any of them can now be found, and there is no positive record of their having been printed, it is practically certain that they were all printed. Each is dated at Lebanon. They are as follows: For raising one thousand five hundred men for General Lee; For raising a regiment for service on the northern frontiers; For raising four regiments to serve until the first

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 188.

† 4 American Arch., IV, 931-933.

of the following April around Boston; a second proclamation, under instructions from Congress, for raising a regiment for service on the northern frontiers. The third named of these proclamations is accompanied by a blank form for enlistment. It is perhaps this proclamation and enlistment blank for which Ebenezer Watson rendered his printing bill under date of February 23;* the items being "Long proclamation" and "Enlistments." Possibly this bill is for the proclamation ordered on February 17, for raising companies for the New London forts.

On February 17 the Council of Safety "Considered, voted and pass'd a Proclamation for raising and encouraging" three companies of ninety men each for the purpose of erecting and garrisoning three forts in the vicinity of New London. The men were to act as workmen as well as soldiers.† It is to be presumed that this proclamation was printed, although there is no evidence that such was the case.

The Continental Congress on March 16 set a general fast for May 17.‡ On such occasions it was the custom for the governors of the different colonies to proclaim a fast for that day in their respective colonies. Governor Trumbull did so on this occasion; and on April 22 Timothy Green of New London printed 336 copies of a proclamation for that purpose.§ It is to be regretted that no copy of Connecticut's proclamation has survived to this time; for it would be of interest to know if Governor Trumbull made additions to the proclamation as issued by the Congress. This document, issued "In times of impending calamity and distress; when the liberties of America are imminently endangered," after acknowledging the overruling providence of God, implored "his assistance to frustrate the cruel purposes of our unnatural enemies," and "prevent the further effusion of kindred blood." But if there must be war

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 187.

† Col. Rec. XV, 243.

‡ Journals of the Continental Congress, vol. 4, 1776, page 208. Washington, 1906.

§ Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 188.

they prayed for "victory and success" "to crown the Continental arms, by sea and land."

The proceedings of the General Assembly which met at Hartford on May 9, 1776, and continued in session until the eighth of the following month, indicate that its members appreciated the gravity of the situation they were then facing. It was made a season of preparation for what they perhaps believed to be the decisive year of the war upon which they had entered.

On the day of their gathering for formal election there was the usual formality of a sermon preached before the members of the General Assembly. The preacher was Rev. Judah Champion, pastor of the First church in Litchfield. His text was "Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free": and his opening sentence was, "Home-felt joys, this day, possess our breasts, on account of the distinguishing blessings of Liberty and Freedom, which illustriously exert themselves, animating the members of this community." Further on he says, "fleets and armies have been sent over, compelling us either to disobey the divine precept in our text, or engage in a civil war. These colonies have nobly chosen the latter." "We are called to Liberty, one of heaven's choicest blessings to mankind." "In this dark and difficult day, you will consider yourselves as the guardians of our excellent constitution, which has true English liberty for its basis." "This is the only provincial, General Assembly upon this continent which hath not been harrassed and perplex'd by being adjourned, prorogued or dissolved by its Governor, except one, which was necessitated to appoint a new one."* "Our land is sacrilegiously polluted with the blood of our fellow citizens, impiously shed by worse than savage hands. We are involved in the horrors of a civil war. Let your heads, hands, fortunes and lives be devoted and consecrated to your country's good." "For Heaven's sake and for our own, let us arouse my countrymen, and act up to the dignity of our character as free-born Americans." With such stirring words as these did he incite the people to action. This sermon was printed by authority of the

* Rhode Island.

Assembly, within three weeks of its delivery, by Ebenezer Watson, as an octavo pamphlet of 31 pages in an edition of 500 copies.* The subject heading given at the top of the printed title page is "Christian and civil Liberty and Freedom considered and recommended."

Very early in the session, there was passed, "An Act to restrain the Exportation of Rum, Sugar, Molasses, Salt, and other West India Goods out of this Colony for the Time therein limited."† The exportation was forbidden "by land or water on or before the first day of November next." A proviso permitted the governor to allow exportation upon application of the Continental Congress or of General Washington. One hundred copies of this Act were issued in the form of a proclamation. The printing was done in Hartford by Ebenezer Watson,‡ who appears to have completed the work on the sixteenth, only a week after the gathering of the Assembly. No copy of this proclamation is known to have survived. It is worthy of note that all the special acts and resolves of this session appear to have been printed before the adjournment of the Assembly.

As gunpowder was one of the greatest essentials for carrying on the war, there was passed early in this session "An Act for the more effectual Carrying into execution the several Acts relative to the Making of Salt Petre and Gun Powder within this Colony."§ After reciting the premium granted for the saltpetre manufactured in the Colony and the method of inspection ordered in the previous acts it went on to regulate the times for its delivery and inspection, its delivery in proper packages, the proper accounting by the inspectors and the powder makers, the prevention of the use of impurities, the proper packing and delivery of the powder and the payment of the bounties. This Act was printed by Watson, probably in the form of a broadside, in an edition of five hundred copies.|| The existence of no copy is known to me.

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 187.

† Col. Rec. XV, 314.

‡ Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 187.

§ Col. Rec. XV, 287.

|| Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 187.

The next business of the Assembly was a resolution to encourage the manufacture of salt in the Colony. After stating that salt was "of great Importance and Necessity," "and the obtaining the same in the usual Way of Importation, is rendered difficult and uncertain"; it proceeds to offer "One Hundred Pounds" to the person who, before the first of October 1777, "shall erect proper Works and Fats" (Vats), "and shall actually make therein, the first Five Hundred Bushels of good merchantable Salt." And a similar offer to the second, third and fourth persons of eighty, sixty and forty pounds. This resolve was issued in the form of a small broadside, of which a single mutilated copy is known. It was printed by Watson.*

The next following business of the Assembly was "An Act for Raising and Equipping a Body of Minute Men, to be held in Readiness, for the better Defence of this Colony, and for Repealing an Act of the same Title made and passed by this Assembly, in December 1775." It provided that one-third part of the members of seven of the militia regiments and one-fourth part of those in the other regiments (the 24th only excepted) should be inlisted for a term not exceeding one year to "hold themselves in constant Readiness to march at the shortest Notice, for the Defence of this, or any of the adjoining Colonies"; and "a Premium of Forty Shillings each" was allowed to those soldiers who "shall compleatly equip themselves." This act was printed on three numbered folio pages by Watson.† The number of copies printed is not known, and but two are known to have survived to the present. Watson also printed and billed on the same date as the above act, May 27, a number of orders and inlistments as follows:‡

Orders and inlistments for minute men, 400 copies.

Beating orders for Continental and Connecticut regiments.

Inlisting orders.

Inlisting orders for Continental regiment.

Inlistments, 1400 copies.

Inlistments for Continental regiment, 700 copies.

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 328.

† State Arch., Rev. IV, 187.

‡ Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 187.

No copies of any of these are now known, although it is quite possible that some of the inlistments might be found on a careful examination of the archives in the various State departments' offices.

It having been represented to this Assembly that sundry persons were "ingrossing"—that is purchasing in large quantities with intent to sell again at a largely increased price—"rum, sugar, molasses, salt, and other West India goods with an intent to export the same out of this Colony," an act was passed forbidding such exportation "on or before the first day of November next." A proviso allowed the governor, upon application made by the Continental Congress or General Washington, to permit such "goods necessary for the continental army" to be exported.* The governor was desired "forthwith" to issue his proclamation accordingly; and it was printed May 16 by Watson in an edition of one hundred copies,† no one of which is now to be found.

The Continental Congress having resolved to emit bills of credit, and that the thirteen United Colonies should stand pledged for the redemption of such bills, and that each Colony provide ways and means for sinking its proportion of said bills, desired to know what would be the Colonies' respective proportions. To this end the Congress on December 26, 1775, recommended to the several Assemblies to ascertain and report the number of inhabitants in each respective Colony. And so, pursuant to a letter received from John Hancock, President of Congress, the Assembly at this session passed a resolution directing the selectmen in the several towns "at or before the first day of September next" to "take and transmit to" the governor "a particular and exact account of all the persons in their respective towns in this Colony, as well negroes or slaves for life as white persons, distinguishing the number of those who are under the age of twenty years from those who are above that age, the sexes, or whether married or single, those in the militia, and all able bodied men who do not belong to the militia, also all those who are now in actual service." It was ordered "that this

* Col. Rec. XV, 314.

† Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 187.

act be forthwith printed, and distributed by the Representatives in the present Assembly.”* It was printed by Watson on one sheet folded so as to make two folio leaves.† The first page contained the Resolution, the third page a form with blank spaces to be filled in under the several headings—as, “Males between twenty and seventy, married or single,” &c.,—for making return to the governor. But a single copy of this resolution and form has survived to the present time. Watson also printed “Additions to a resolve for numbering the people.”‡ What the “additions” consisted of is unknown. Curiously enough there is no record of what was the Colony’s population as returned by this census; and but a single return has come down to us, that for the parish of Newington in the town of Wethersfield.§ A census had been taken on the first of January 1774, which showed a population of 191,392 whites and 6,464 blacks, a total of 197,856.

This May session of the Assembly was “adjourned by proclamation” on June 8; and some time previous to May 27, by which time it had been printed, the Assembly adopted a curious recommendation or manifesto—the printer called it a proclamation. The opening paragraph of this strange document reads as follows:

“Whereas this Assembly, in their present Session, have made many Preparations for Defence, against the increasing Hostilities and Efforts of our unnatural Enemies, yet considering the alarming Situation of the United Colonies, being threatened with the whole Force of Great Britain, united with all such Foreign Mercenaries as they are able to engage, to assist the Execution of their causeless Vengeance on these devoted Colonies, and to burn and destroy our Seaport Towns, and to spread Rapine, Murder and Destruction through the Whole: In this Situation, our utmost Efforts cannot be too much, and it is the Duty of every individual, to contribute all in his Power to serve and defend our most important Cause.”

Therefore it was recommended “to all Persons” to furnish themselves with fire arms; to all who were not members of the militia to form themselves into companies and choose officers;

* Col. Rec. XV, 312.

† Conn. Arch. Rev. IV. 328.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Welles, E. S. A census of Newington, 1776. 1909.

to all field officers to be in readiness to lead forth their troops and "to encourage military Skill and every warlike Preparation"; to "the Committee appointed to procure Fire-Arms to be made" to "use their utmost Diligence to promote the same, and purchase in all good Arms for sale." And lastly as "The Events of this Year may prove most decisive to these Colonies" and "the Blessing of Heaven" was necessary for success, it was "most earnestly recommended to, and pressed upon all Persons," "in this Day of Darkness and threatening Calamity," to cultivate charity and benevolence, to abstain from extortion and oppression, to repent and break off from sin, folly and vice, to live together in peace, love and harmony, and to look up "to Heaven for Help, Success, Salvation and Deliverance, and with careful Attention to the Use of Means," trust in the Lord, and have no fear of the dangers that threaten. It seems to have been another case of "trust in God and keep your powder dry." They would look up to Heaven for help, "and with careful Attention to the Use of Means"—such as fire arms and "every warlike Preparation"—they would have no fear as to the final result. It was ordered to "be printed and dispersed, and be read and published in all the religious societies in this Colony." Four hundred copies were printed by Watson,* of which two can now be located.

Although this recommendation was printed, and therefore had been adopted, almost two weeks before the adjournment of the Assembly it appears entered on the official record of the Assembly's doings at the extreme end of the record, immediately before the memorandum of adjournment. And further, the entry on the official record was evidently made from one of the printed copies of the recommendations. This is apparent from the fact that it contains several minor errors which have been corrected with a pen in the handwriting of William Williams in both of the known printed copies. The whole recommendation is in William Williams' style and was undoubtedly composed by him. He was Governor Trumbull's son-in-law and seems to have frequently acted in the capacity of secretary to him.

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 187.

The public Acts and Laws of this session, comprising pages 419 to 425, were printed at New London by Timothy Green in an edition of eleven hundred copies.* For the first time the Royal Arms are omitted at the top of the first page, and the regnal year in the general heading, while in the head-line at the top of each page the words "Acts and Laws" take the place of the regnal year which had been previously used. The publication contains twelve separate acts, and nine of these relate in some way to or were occasioned by the war upon which the Colonies had entered. These acts are:

For establishing naval offices. Previous to this time there had been a Collector of Customs appointed by the home government and located at New London. By this act he seems to have been superseded; the governor being appointed naval officer, with deputies at several ports named, to enter and clear vessels and their cargoes and do other necessary business of the office.

Giving jurisdiction concerning captures to the county courts. This action was taken upon recommendation of Congress, and undoubtedly refers to vessels captured at sea.

For repealing an act against high treason. The act repealed made it high treason with punishment by death and forfeiture for a person to "Compass, or Imagine," the death of the king, queen or heir apparent, to levy war against the king or aid his enemies or to counterfeit the king's great seal or privy seal.

For altering an act prescribing forms of writs, processes, &c. It was here enacted that for the future such documents should issue "in the Name of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, instead of 'his Majesty's Name'."

For altering an act prescribing the forms of oaths. The alteration consisted in omitting all references to the king.

For altering an act for preventing and punishing riots and rioters. Here again reference to the king was omitted and proclamation was to be made in the name of the "Governor and Company."

For forming all the "Troops of Horse" into "Regiments of Light Horse."

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 426.

For increasing the penalty for a soldier's disobedience of orders.

For establishing the twenty-fifth regiment.

These acts show that the people of Connecticut were acting thoughtfully and deliberately in the steps they took looking towards separation from the mother country, and that they were gradually, and apparently in what they looked on as a legal manner, withdrawing from their allegiance to the king.

The printing of £60,000 in bills of credit was authorized at this (May) session. The work of printing was no doubt done by Green at New London. The bills were to be dated June 7, 1776, and to become payable January 1, 1781. They were directed to be of suitable denominations from one shilling to forty shillings, and £10,000 was to be of six shillings or under. Bills of one shilling, one shilling three pence, two shillings, two shillings six pence, three shillings, five shillings, ten shillings, fifteen shillings, one pound, and forty shillings are known.

On June 14, 1776, only six days after its previous adjournment, the Assembly was again called together "by special order of the Governor," and it continued in session until the 21st.

It seems worthy of note here, although the resolution was not published, that the day after the Assembly met it unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"That the Delegates of this Colony in General Congress be and they are hereby instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United American Colonies Free and Independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to give the assent of this Colony to such declaration when they shall judge it expedient and best, ...*"

Evidently the idea of freedom was in the air at this time.

Again an embargo was laid upon the exportation from the Colony of a considerable number of articles of provision, including the principal meats and grains. This to continue until the rising of the Assembly in October next, unless discontinued in whole or in part by the governor.† A proclamation to this

* Col. Rec. XV, 415.

† *Ibid.*, 413.

effect was printed by Watson,* no copy of which can now be located.

A series of resolutions was adopted for furnishing "the Troops now Raising in this Colony" "with necessary Fire Arms, Accoutrements and Utensils for the Service." They related to supplying camp kettles of tin and iron; to the delivery to the selectmen of the different towns, to be by them delivered to the soldiers, such fire-arms as had already been procured by the committee for procuring fire-arms to be made; to the delivery to chief officers of the companies of the fire-arms taken from persons belonging to this Colony who are enemies to this country; to hiring or impressing arms for soldiers not otherwise supplied; to sending to the governor an account of arms in the different companies, and to keeping an account of the cost of repairs on hired fire-arms.† These resolutions were printed in the form of a folio page broadside by Watson.‡ One copy is known. There was also another resolution relating to fire-arms printed by Watson, but as no copy is known its contents cannot be identified with certainty.§

A resolution was adopted by which the selectmen of the respective towns were "empowered and directed forthwith to purchase such Lead Weights, and other Implements of Lead, as well as all the Bar and old Lead, except Sheet Lead on Buildings, as also all Shot as shall be found in the Hands of particular Persons in this Colony, at a reasonable Price, for the Use of this Colony." And a further resolution provided that if any person "shall refuse to sell and deliver such Lead, in their Custody," it became the duty of the civil authority "to grant proper Warrants for impressing the same, for the use of this Colony, to be paid for as aforesaid." This action was printed in the form of

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 328.

† Col. Rec. XV, 419.

‡ Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 328. Watson's bill has the items "Resolve respecting fire arms" under date of June 14 and "Long resolve for procuring fire arms" under date of June 20. The latter is probably the one here described.

§ Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 328.

a small broadside by Watson.* A single copy is now all that can be found.

Pursuant to a requisition from Congress the Assembly directed the raising of two battalions of eight companies each to join the Continental Army in Canada. Each company was to consist of fourteen officers and seventy nine privates.† Beating orders for enlisting these recruits were printed by Watson; and he also printed 1,700 inlistment blanks for the same purpose. No copies of either of these are known.

On a further requisition from Congress the Assembly directed the raising of seven battalions to join the Continental Army at New York. Each battalion was to be composed of the same number of men as those of the previous requisition.‡ For carrying this into effect Watson printed an edition of 300 beating orders, one copy of which is known. Watson also printed for the same purpose 5,400 inlistment blanks.

And for encouraging inlistments into these nine battalions, and a battalion ordered raised the previous May for service around Boston, Governor Trumbull on June 18 issued a folio broadside declaration,—it would hardly be called a proclamation, setting forth in detail the various “Premiums, Allowances and Encouragements given and granted” by the Assembly to those who should inlist into these services. A single copy of this declaration is all that has come to my notice. It was printed by Watson, who called it a “proclamation encouraging the soldiery,” in an edition of 400 copies.

In order to provide for the proper officering of the troops raised at this time, and perhaps at other times, blank commissions in several forms were printed by Watson. First came commissions for Brigadier General, of which two only were printed; then followed two lots of commissions for field officers; commissions for Connecticut regiments; commissions for minute men; and commissions for under officers, of which three hundred were printed. No attempt has been made to locate or

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 328.

† Col. Rec. XV, 416.

‡ *Ibid.*, 417.

identify copies of any of these commissions. Some of them could no doubt be found. These commissions are billed as of June 14, 1776.* On the same date as the commissions, Watson also printed a blank form of bond for paymasters of companies. I have seen no copy of the bond.

And lastly comes a "long proclamation" printed by Watson. This can be no other than the "Proclamation for Reformation," &c.—as the original manuscript, document, now in the Connecticut Historical Society, is indorsed—which has sometimes been called "Connecticut's Declaration of Independence." It breathes a spirit of religious fervor, as might be expected of any document composed by William Williams, and a determination as well to maintain "the Freedom and Liberty" they had long enjoyed. And "having no Alternative but absolute Slavery, or successful Resistance; . . . [they] have been constrained by the over-ruling Laws of Self-Preservation, to take up Arms for the Defence of all that is sacred and dear to Freemen, and make their solemn Appeal to Heaven for the Justice of their Cause, and resist Force by Force." This proclamation was dated, printed and published June 18 by order of the Assembly. Two copies of it are known.

After the adjournment on June 21 the two public acts passed at this session were printed by Timothy Green of New London in an edition of 1,100 copies. One of the two laws here printed is an addition to a law for "restraining and punishing Persons who are inimical to the Liberties of this and the rest of the United Colonies." It provides that if any person shall be found to be in possession of goods belonging to an inimical person, or shall be found to be indebted to an inimical person, it shall be the duty of the selectmen to institute proper legal action under which the goods shall be seized or the debt collected for the use and benefit of the Colony.

There are two varieties of this issue of the laws. One bearing Green's imprint and consisting of pages 427 to 430; the other without imprint and consisting of pages 427 to 429.

* Conn. Arch. Rev. IV, 328.

Whether both of these issues are included in the 1,100 copies, or whether one was a later reprint, it is impossible to say.

There was also printed, doubtless by Timothy Green of New London, after the adjournment, but under date of June 19, the £50,000 bills of credit authorized by the Assembly, in denominations from six pence to forty shillings. They were made redeemable January 1, 1782. Examples of the denominations of six pence, nine pence, one shilling, one shilling three pence, one shilling five pence, one shilling six pence, two shillings, two shillings six pence, five shillings and forty shillings are now known, and there may have been issues of other denominations.

A few days after this—you all know the date—came the Declaration of Independence, and the struggle was on in earnest; after this there could be no retreat. It marked the beginning of a new cycle in the struggle against what the people looked upon as tyranny and oppression. And here we will leave the Colony: only adding that the Connecticut Assembly never took any action upon or made any official recognition of the famous Declaration.

A RIDE ACROSS CONNECTICUT BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

By SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.

[Read October 15, 1917.]

On September 19th, 1770, Reverend Ebenezer Baldwin, a graduate of Yale of the Class of 1763, was ordained as pastor of the first Congregational Church of Danbury. His father, who lived in Norwich, rode over on horseback to attend the ordination, and took his daughter, Miss Bethiah Baldwin, with him, then a young woman of twenty-seven.

She jotted down, on September 14th, 1770, an account of her journey to Danbury, and on October 1st similar notes of her return trip.

They give a lively picture of the discomforts of travel in Connecticut in the eighteenth century, and also of the customary modes of alleviation.

It was still a new country, largely given over to woods. Ten years later, a French officer, who served in America under Rochambeau in 1780, was sent by him from Newport to Lebanon, and speaks of it in his memoirs* as a visit to the "forests of Connecticut," and as for Lebanon, he adds: "Siberia alone can be compared to Lebanon, which is composed only of some cabins in immense forests." Such roads as there were in 1770 were narrow, rough and often miry. There were no turn-pikes, and were to be none till a quarter of a century later. Even in the larger towns, the streets were sometimes almost impassable. Tradition tells of a man walking on the edge of State street in Hartford, who saw a nice hat lying in the mud in the centre of the travelled roadway. Picking his way to it,

* *Memoires de M. le Duc de Lauzun*, Ed. of 1822, II, 169, 170.

and seizing the hat, he found a man under it, who cried out cheerfully, "Oh, I don't need any help. I've got a good horse under me and I can feel that he's just struck solid ground."

With such roads, travelling was for the most part on horseback. Women often rode on a pillion. As late as 1800 there was but one pleasure vehicle owned in Fairfield County—a chaise in Ridgefield.*

In Miss Baldwin's notes, a word is occasionally missing, and the spelling, which was often of the phonetic type, has been modernized in transcription.

In the trip Westward stops were made through Hebron, Glastonbury (for the ferry) and Wethersfield, on the first day; Farmington, Panthorn and Waterbury, on the second; Woodbury, Newtown and Danbury, on the third day.

On the return trip, stops were made at New Milford on Monday; Bethlehem on Tuesday; Judea, Farmington and Hartford (for the ferry) on Wednesday; and Bolton and Lebanon Crank on Thursday.

The travellers left Norwich early on Thursday morning, September 6th, 1770, and the journal of Miss Baldwin opens thus:

"Thursday, 8 o'clock, left Norwich. The first time I stopt was at Hebron. Dined at Uncle Post's.† The chief Topick of conversation was about going to ordination. Rode from there to ferry. Ferried over. No horse Block. Obligated to get up, upon the ore. So the ferryman lifted it up, so that I got on."

This ferry was probably that from Glastonbury to Wethersfield.

At this time iron was found in Hebron, Somers and Stafford, and would naturally go to the smelters West of the "great river."

"Rode from there to Mr. Deane's. Tarried there all night. They received us with a great deal of ceremony and complaisance. We drinkt a glass of wine: then tea was carried round. We spent the evening in agreeable conversation. About 9 o'clock had a very genteel supper and a glass of wine. When we (had) done, lodged with Hannah Deane. Chatted away till 12 o'clock. Could not sleep. Extreme tired. Turned over and over. So tired and sore with riding that I wisht myself at home. After a while

* S. G. Goodrich, *Recollections*. I, 136.

† "Uncle Post" was the husband of Miss Baldwin's Aunt Phoebe, an older sister of her father.

got asleep. Waked up. Could not sleep. After a while got to sleep again. Slept till sunrise. Lay in bed till 8 o'clock. Then tried to get up. I was so tired I could not get out of bed. Lay down again. Hannah laughed at me. I, at last, with much difficulty got up. Complained but little to anybody but Hannah."

This stop was at Wethersfield, forty-six miles from Norwich. The Deane family were closely connected with the Baldwins. Silas Deane (Yale College, Class of 1758), afterwards prominent in the American Revolution, at whose house they stayed, was a nephew of Ebenezer Baldwin's first wife, who was the mother of Miss Bethiah Baldwin. Mrs. Deane was a daughter of General Gurdon Saltonstall (Yale College, Class of 1725) of New London. Hannah Deane was a sister of Silas Deane* and of an age not far from that of Miss Baldwin.

To resume the journal:

"Ate breakfast. Felt dull about going any further. However I set out upon my journey about 10 o'clock. Rode to Farmington: oated our horses; drinkt some sherry. Rode to Penthorn. There we dined. Then got up to ride. Excessive tired. Wisht myself at home."

Penthorn, or as it was commonly written, Panthorn was an ecclesiastical society in the town of Farmington, seven or eight miles from the center of the latter. The origin of its name is unknown. It is now the town of Southington. The soil was unfertile. "Poor as Panthorn" was a common saying of those living in its vicinity, to denote abject poverty.†

Mr. Baldwin evidently became afraid here that with their late start they might not make the stop which he had arranged, for his daughter proceeds:

"Daddy said we must ride faster. I cut on, almost tired to death. At last got to Waterbury."

This day's ride covered thirty-six miles.

"There we put up. Oh, law! Horrible. Nasty. Drinkt some flip. Could eat no supper. Went to bed. Oh, bless me, what nasty sheets. A great, old chamber. Could not fasten the door; felt afraid. Went to bed very tired. I got to sleep. Dreamed somebody was coming to bed to me.

* Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, II, 267. She married Josiah Buck, Jr., in 1775. N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg., XV, 298.

† Memoir of Rev. Wm. Robinson, 78, 81, 83.

Waked up in a fright. Heard people going about in the house. The ladies had sparks, I found out, so I got to sleep again. Sleep to sunrise. Then got up, ate a breakfast of fried chickens & drinkt tea, weak as water. We set out on our journey. Rode to Woodbury. Stopt at a tavern; no oats. Stayed a while; then rode 3 miles to a tavern. Stopt, oated, dined, drinkt some wine. Then rode to Newtown. Stopt at a tavern; drinkt some cherry. Daddy went to Mr. Mitchell's."

This was Stephen M. Mitchell, afterwards Chief Justice of the State and Senator of the United States. He was a classmate of Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, at Yale, and one of his confidential friends. He had been married the year before and begun the practice of law in Newtown.

"Mr. Mitchell came over to the tavern. Very complaisant with me. Invited me to his house to drink tea. I could not stay to go. I promised to make him a visit before I went home. He very complaisantly helped me up on my horse.

Keep on my journey till I got to Danbury; then put up at Captain Wood's. Very tired. Drinkt tea. Found people very kind. Got acquainted quick. Went to bed. Felt at home. Sleep well. Got up at 8 o'clock. Ate breakfast."

Captain Wood was a respectable householder in Danbury, with whom her brother boarded and lodged. The latter, in June, had written about the Wood family and her possible visit to Danbury, to his sister, in these words:

"I rather thought, when I was at home last, that it would make rather too many if you came to Ordination. But I don't know that there will be any impropriety in it, if you come. Miss Lucy Wood, a young lady in the house where I quarter, is urgent with me that you would come. I have wrote to Father to let you come, if you can with conveniency. I guess Father will not come to commencement, but go directly to Danbury. . . . You must expect if you come to Danbury to be a good deal noticed & perhaps gazed at, for to be the Minister's sister you know in a Country Town is a considerable thing. You must therefore take care to behave circumspectly. However I need not caution you. Young women that are looking out for husbands have as strong motives to be cautious as Candidates that are looking out for Parishes."

The journal resumes thus:

"Dressed me. Went to meeting. Heard Mr. Camp preach."

This was probably Rev. Samuel Camp, who was graduated from Yale a year after Ebenezer Baldwin, and had recently

been settled over a small church in Ridgebury in the neighboring town of Ridgefield.

The ordination was doubtless conducted in the way then usual. There was plenty of good eating and water was not the only beverage.

Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, in speaking of two ordinations at Plymouth and Goshen, forty years later, says that the ecclesiastical society in each parish provided, as was customary, all the kinds of liquor then in vogue, and that besides serving spirits at table, the sideboard in the minister's house was kept covered with decanters, and bottles, and sugar, and pitchers of water.*

In the latter part of the month (Monday, September 22) Miss Baldwin started on her way back to Norwich. Her father had apparently preceded her, as his place as escort was supplied by a young minister named Benedict. It was probably Mr. Joel Benedict (Princeton College, Class of 1765) on his way back to the pulpit of the parish of Newent in the town of Norwich, which he was then supplying. This was the parish which became the town of Lisbon. In November, 1770, he received a call to settle there, and the place was his home for many years. He was a fine classical scholar and in 1808 received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Union College.

At this time he was twenty-five years old.

His older brother, also a licentiate in theology of that year, Abner Benedict (Yale College, Class of 1769), was engaged to be married to the eldest daughter of Mr. Northrop, Miss Lois Northrop, who became his wife October 31st, 1770. Both brothers had studied theology under Rev. Joseph Bellamy, D.D., of Bethlehem.

Miss Baldwin's journal, which was written up on October 1st, 1770, continues thus:

"Monday, 2 o'clock, left Danbury. Had for company Mr. Benedict. We rode to New Milford. Upon the road there was a man upon a stack of (corn who) drank my health as I rode by him. We put up at New Milford at Mr. Northrop's."

This was Amos Northrop, 3d, who afterwards became a commissary in the Revolutionary army. It was a Yale household.

* Autobiography and Correspondence, I, 245, 246.

He was of the Class of 1762. A son was about to enter college; and his two daughters both married Yale men.

The afternoon's ride to New Milford covered about twenty miles.

"They received us very kindly. We drank a bowl of punch; then we had chocolate for supper. The ladies were free and easy to be acquainted. They seemed to know the heart of a stranger. They made me very welcome. I felt very much at home. We past away the evening very agreeably. Our discourse was upon the joking order. We went to bed. I felt very much unwell, when I went to bed. The ladies were kind; gave me something to take. I got to sleep. Waked up; waked up; could not sleep; lay awake. Miss Northrop out of complaisance lay awake to keep me company. We got to sleep about day. Sleep till 9 in the morning. Then got up. Looked out at the window; in a fright to see it snow; dressed. Went down. Washed me. Drank a bitter. Drank tea for breakfast. It rained and snowed hard. Could not go on my journey. Felt well, in high spirits. Went to work on my catgut."

Cat-gut was formerly twisted by hand to make shoe-laces and window-cords.

"Laughed and joked, and passed away the time agreeably. Dined. Then in the afternoon we had tea. I mentioned my being fond of honey. They were so kind as to take up a hive of bees. We had bread and honey for supper.

Very merry after supper. Went up (to my) chamber to bed. Laughed so much we could not go to bed. We had a very rakish frolick for young ladies. I can't say I was greatly pleased.

I went to bed. Sleep alone. Felt somehow vapory and afraid. After a while got to sleep. Wondered what ailed me. Got to sleep again.

Got up at 8 o'clock. Looked out at the window. It rained. I could hardly keep from crying. Went down. Ate breakfast. Tried to be merry, but felt shockingly. Expected I must stay all Winter. To divert ourselves we cracked butternuts, and ate.

About eleven o'clock we set out upon our journey. It was extreme cold. Snowed a little. I was almost frozen. No cloak, but, a short, thin, silk one. My fingers ached with the cold. Mr. Benedict was so kind as to pull off his mittens and give (them to) me. I would not take but one. I was still very cold. I was glad to take the other mitten.

O! Horrible bad riding through woods and swamps. No, none: we got where there was no path; no where, so we were obliged to make one.

I followed my pilot along through the woods. Riding under a tree I somehow held my head back instead of forward. My saddle turned back, so that I fell off backward. O! Shocking; what a fright I was in for a few minutes: but I soon found out I was alive and not hurt. Felt a little faint a few minutes, but soon got up on my horse and rode again to Mr. Bridgman's. There we made a racon tavern."

This word "raeon" occurs several times in these notes, and seems used to denote a house which is not a tavern, but one where they sometimes take in travellers, for pay according to a reasonable reckoning.

"Dined there. There was Mr. Story, a pretty, little, simpering scholar, mightily complaisant; helped me up upon my horse, and I believed would have kissed me, but I was so tall he could not reach me. We kept on riding, almost frozen, till we got to Bethlehem. We made a very good raeon tavern at Dr. Bellamy's. They received me kindly."

This day's ride was a short one of about eighteen miles.

Dr. Bellamy was one of the leading theologians of his day, and was settled at Bethlehem from 1740 to 1790. He was a Princeton graduate and received his degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Aberdeen. He was supposed, President Stiles tells us, to be worth £1800, which would make him one of the richest ministers in the State.*

"Drank coffee for supper. Went to bed. Lodged alone. Mrs. Lucy† did not choose to lodge with me. I don't know, but I believe Mr. Benedict sparked with her: no harm at all for brother and sister to talk together a little while."

"I got up at sunrise, ate breakfast. Set out upon our journey. I believe to Judea. I can't tell where, but I was for not making any raeon tavern there, but went to a tavern; oated our horses: drank some flip. However Mr. Benedict would not let me come off (my horse), so he would call to his raeon tavern, Mr. Storrs."

Judea was a parish of the town of Woodbury, and lay South of Bethlehem.

"He," Mr. Storrs, "was not at home. Miss Storrs came to the door, a very genteel woman. Invited us in very warmly. She was more than common genteel. She curtsied at every word she spoke. I was very sorry I did not make a raeon tavern there. I was resolved not to pass by the next raeon tavern."

By "Mr. Storrs" is meant, no doubt, Rev. Andrew Storrs (Yale College, 1760) who was then pastor of the church in

* Stiles, *Itineraries*, 405.

† Lucy Bellamy, Dr. Bellamy's oldest daughter, then a young woman of twenty-five and unmarried. "Mrs." was often used as a term of respect for unmarried women of superior station.

Northbury Society, a parish of the town of Waterbury. It afterwards became the town of Plymouth.*

"The next (racon tavern) was Mr. Newell's. There I was a mind to stop. A little poor house, and an old-fashioned minister. They had eaten up most all their dinner, the old gentleman said, but he went and spread his table cloth, set his meat on the table, so we made a very good dinner. They were kind people."

The minister must have been Rev. Samuel Newell (Yale College, Class of 1739). He was then a man of fifty-six, and had been for more than twenty years the pastor of the church at the parish of New Cambridge, which is now the town of Bristol.

"We keep on our journey, till we got to Farmington. There we stopt, oated our horses; drank some metheglin. Kept on riding till we got to the ferry at Hartford. It was almost dark. There was a boatful of horses to go over. I felt frightened a good deal; but there came two ladies that were going over, so I did very well."

The name of the place where the stop for the night was made is not stated. Probably Mr. Olcott, at whose house it was spent, lived in East Hartford. If so, the ride there from Bethlehem was about forty-five miles.

"We rode to Mr. Olcott's and put up. Ate supper. Lodged with a woman come from Lyme. She was very impertinent, asking me questions after we got to bed.

Says she, Is that man a minister? Ah, be you going to have him?

No, ma'am.

Ah, girls will lie, says she. How long has he courted you? Three days? Ah, girls will lie. Is he settled? Is he going to be? Is he a good preacher? Where does he preach? How old is he?

I don't know much about him, ma'am.

Ah, girls will lie. So she went on, till I got to sleep.

Before light she roused up. Waked me up. I lay till sunrise. Got up. Drank a bitter. Rode to Bolton. Made a racon tavern at Mr. Colton's. Felt very ugly. Mr. Colton is a very tall, thin, homely (man); somehow very blunt, plain-hearted; coarse in his compliments. I thought did not make me welcome."

This was Rev. George Colton (Yale College, Class of 1756) then pastor of the church in Bolton. Miss Baldwin, who was

* Dexter, Yale Biographies, 2d Series, 677.

herself a tall woman, might well describe him as "very tall," for he measured six feet seven inches. He wore, until his death in 1812, the ancient clerical costume, with cocked hat and enormous white wig. His savings, from a salary of £80 and thirty cords of wood, made him one of the more wealthy of his ministerial brethren.*

"His wife (was) a small woman, squint-eyed, very reserved. Got but little acquainted with her. Ate breakfast, however. Bid them Good-bye, for always, I hope."

"Rode from there to Lebanon Crank to Mr. Clark's. There I made a racon tavern. Polly Gaylor was glad to see me. Dined there. Got some of the Old Bachelor's pears."

This Mr. Clark was probably John Clark (Yale College, Class of 1749) who was a practicing physician in Lebanon. "Lebanon Crank" was a parish in the town of Lebanon, which is now the town of Columbia. The term "Crank," in Professor Dexter's opinion, was used on account of the crooked boundary lines of the society.† It had been for many years the seat of "Moor's Indian Charity School," out of which Dartmouth College ultimately grew. Dr. Wheelock (Yale College, Class of 1733), the founder and first President of Dartmouth, was pastor of the parish from 1735 for thirty-four years. He had removed to New Hampshire the month preceding Miss Baldwin's visit.‡

"Rode from there to Mr. Lyman's. Made a racon tavern there. Drank a glass of wine. Ate some apples, and then rode home and glad was I."

She had had a fifty mile ride that day, and well might be glad to look forward to a good night's rest.

The diarist, who was never married, spent her last years in New Haven in the family of her brother, Simeon Baldwin, dying at the age of 87, sixty years after her trip to Danbury.

* Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, 2d Series, 408.

† *Diary of David McClure*, 6, note.

‡ Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*; I, 398; *Diary of David McClure*, 22.

THE CITIZENSHIP OF THE AUTHOR OF THE
"QUATRE-LETTRES D'UN BOURGEOIS
DE NEW-HEAVEN SUR L'UNITÉ
DE LA LÉGISLATION."

By SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.

[Read October 15, 1917.]

In 1895 a paper was read before this Society on the authorship of the "Quatre Lettres d'un Bourgeois de New-Heaven sur l'Unité de la Législation," which were published in Mazzei's "Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale."*

These letters, Mazzei says, were addressed to him by "one of the greatest men of the age" (that is, of the eighteenth century). They constitute a strong plea for the superior advantages of a single legislative chamber, under a republican form of government, over two Houses. Arguments are also included for freedom of religion, free trade, and woman suffrage.

They were published anonymously, and the paper presented in 1895 attributed them to the Marquis de Condorcet, but found no way of accounting for his masquerading under the name of a citizen of New-Heaven.

The object of the present paper is to give the explanation. It is to be found in President Stiles' Literary Diary, that repository of information as to American affairs of every kind in his day, which has now been made accessible by its publication with important annotations by Dr. Franklin Bowditch Dexter.

Very soon after the close of the Revolution, the General Assembly of Connecticut chartered the cities of Hartford, New

* Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, Vol. VI, 263.

Haven, Middletown, New London and Norwich. In May, 1784, this was followed by the following Act:

"An Act to enable the Cities of New-Haven, New-London, Hartford, Middletown, and Norwich respectively to grant the Freedom of those Cities to Persons living without the Limits of said Cities.

Be it enacted by the Governor and Council, and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, That said Cities respectively shall and may have Power to grant the Freedom of those Cities to any Person or Persons living without the Limits of said Cities, and the Person to whom such Freedom is granted, shall, upon taking the Oath by Law required, have Right to vote at any of the Elections and in any City Meetings of that City by which such Freedom is granted.

Provided nevertheless. That no Person shall in Virtue of such Grant be considered as intitled to the Rights of a free Citizen of this State, or as acquiring a Right of Inhabitaney in that Town within which the City granting such Freedom lies."

The next year we find this entry in Dr. Stiles' diary, under date of May 10th, 1785:

"This Afternoon at a City Meeting, the Freedom of this City was unanimously conferred upon ten French Personages at Paris—The Marechal Prince de Beauveau, the Marchallé Princesse de Beauveau, the Duke de Liancourt, the Duke of la Rochefoucauld, the Comtesse Sophia de Houdetout, the Marquiss de St. Lambert, Augustin Target Esq., the Comté de Jarnac, the Marquiss de Condorcet, M. de la Crestelle."

It is probable that this list was the joint work of President Stiles and Josiah Meigs, of the Class of 1778 at Yale, then the city clerk and formerly one of the College Tutors. They had, during the preceding Winter, collaborated in making the device and lettering for the city seal,* and both took a warm interest in all that concerned our ally, France. Mr. Meigs was afterwards one of those who approved the course of the French Revolution to an extent which was thought by many of his friends to be at least indiscreet.†

Of the ten Parisians thus made citizens of New Haven, Condorcet was the most famous. He had been since 1769 a member of the Academy of Sciences, and threw in his lot with d'Alembert, Voltaire, Turgot, and the other philosophers of that

* Stiles, Literary Diary, III, 146, 148.

† Dexter, Yale Biographies, 4th Series, 45.

school, who prepared the public mind for the doctrines of the Revolution.

Charles Just, *Duc de Beauveau*, had been Governor of Provence, and two years before had been made a Marshal of France. He was a member of the Academie della Crusca.

The rank in the nobility of his country attributed to him, and so also to his wife, was, I think, too high by one degree.

Francois Alexander Frédéric, *Duc de Liancourt*, had set up a Model School of Arts and Trades at his chateau of Liancourt five years before, and afterwards was influential in promoting the practice of vaccination. He inherited the title of *Duc de la Rochefoucauld* in 1792.

It had belonged to his cousin, Louis Alexandre, *Duc de la Rochefoucauld*, who died in that year, and had been eminent as a patron of science and letters.

Neither of these dukes was the author of the famous book of moral (or immoral) maxims. That was the work of a Rochefoucauld of the seventeenth century.

Elizabeth Françoise de la Live de Bellegarde, Contesse d'Houdetot, was famous in her day as a leader in the social circles of Paris, distinguished by both beauty and talent. Rousseau was one of those who worshipped at her feet, and she was in her later years and until his death the *amie* of the Marquis de Saint Lambert.

He was also an academician, and one of the Encyclopedists, who proclaimed the new philosophies of government.

Augustin Target was, in 1785, one of the leaders of the French bar, and also a member of the Academy of Sciences. He was described as an Esquire, no doubt, because that is in New England the traditional style of address in the case of a lawyer.

The Count de Jarnac and M. de la Crestelle, I have not been able to trace back with any certainty in the biographical dictionaries which I have consulted.

"M. de la Crestelle" was probably meant for "M. de la Cretelle," a philosophical jurist, whose work on reform in penal

legislation had been crowned by the Academy of Metz in the preceding year (1784).

While the burgess of "New-Heaven," then, who wrote the *Quatre Lettres*, was a French Marquis, he was also a citizen of New Haven, and had full right to veil his foreign rank under that appellation. If he misspelled the name of the city, he at least made a change which did it no discredit, and this society will not complain of an anticipation of the millennium which a hundred and fifty years ago turned New Haven into a New Heaven.

JARED INGERSOLL, STAMP MASTER, AND THE STAMP ACT.

By RT. REV. EDWIN S. LINES, D.D.

[Read December 20, 1915.]

The lives of very distinguished men, bearing the name of Ingersoll, have been closely associated with American History for two centuries. Distinguished lawyers, judges, and clergymen, holding high positions and rendering noteworthy service, whether of the Colonies or of the States or the Nation, are in the list. The family is descended from two brothers, John and Richard, who came to Massachusetts from Bedfordshire, England, in 1629. John, the ancestor of those with whom we have to do, was born in England in 1615. He moved to Hartford after his older brother's death in 1644, ten years later to Northampton, and ten years later to Westfield, where he died in 1684. His son, Jonathan, born in 1681, the child of his third wife and his fifteenth child, made his home at about the beginning of the Eighteenth Century in Milford, Conn., and in that town his son, Jonathan, was born, probably in 1714, and his son, Jared, in 1722. With these two brothers we have the beginning of two distinguished families, whose names are familiar to all who know the history of Connecticut or the history of Philadelphia. They may be stated briefly as follows:

Jonathan Ingersoll, the elder brother, was the founder of the New Haven family. He graduated at Yale in 1736, studied Theology, and while residing in Newark, was licensed to preach in 1738 by the Presbytery of New Brunswick. He was ordained Pastor of the Church at Ridgefield, Conn., in 1739, and served that Church until his death, nearly forty years later. But one break in his Ministry at Ridgefield is recorded, when he served

as a Chaplain to the Connecticut troops in the French War in 1758. He died at Ridgefield in 1778, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, all but one of his family of ten children surviving him. His elder son, Jonathan Ingersoll, Jr., graduated at Yale in 1766, filled out a distinguished career as a Lawyer in New Haven, becoming Lieutenant Governor of the State, dying at New Haven in 1822, very closely associated with the political movements in the State in the early part of the last Century. He was the father of Ralph I. Ingersoll, whose life was spent in New Haven. He was a distinguished Lawyer, United States Minister to Russia, and the tradition is that he was seriously considered as the Democratic Candidate for the Presidency in 1852, when a nomination meant an election. He died in 1872 at the age of eighty-three. He was the father of distinguished and well known men, Governor Charles R. Ingersoll, Hon. Colin M. Ingersoll, of Connecticut, Rev. Dr. Edward Ingersoll, whose Ministry was largely spent in Buffalo.

To return now to the younger brother, in whom we are at this time most interested. Jared Ingersoll was born in Milford in 1722 and graduated at Yale in 1742. Of his life I am to speak particularly, but let me follow his family down to our own time. His son, Jared Ingersoll, Jr., graduated at Yale in the same class as his cousin, Jonathan Ingersoll, Jr., in 1766. Sent by his father, in 1774, to England for legal studies, he was entered at the Middle Temple to bring him under the instruction and influence of the great English Lawyers of the time. Taking the side of the Colonies, he went to Paris about the time of the Declaration of Independence and returned to the United States in 1778, settling in Philadelphia, becoming a member of the Continental Congress from Pennsylvania and a delegate to the Convention which formed the Constitution of the United States, a candidate for the Vice-Presidency with De Witt Clinton and receiving eighty-six electoral votes as against one hundred and thirty-one for Elbridge Gerry, and dying in Philadelphia in 1822 at the age of seventy-three years. Two of his sons had distinguished careers, Charles Jared Ingersoll, a Democratic Leader in Congress, who died in 1862, and Joseph R. Ingersoll, who

was Minister to Great Britain in 1852. There are distinguished descendants in this family from Jared Ingersoll, the Stamp Master, in Philadelphia still. It is, therefore, easy for us to follow down the two families, one descended from Rev. Jonathan Ingersoll of Ridgefield, Conn., associated particularly with New Haven, and the family of Jared Ingersoll, Stamp Master, especially associated with Philadelphia.

To return now to Jared Ingersoll, who established himself in the practice of the Law in New Haven, winning at once a place of large influence. In the year following his graduation at College in 1742, he married Anna Whiting, eldest child of Hon. Joseph Whiting of New Haven, a name very closely associated with the history of the town in that Century. He must have had at once a large practice, for letters which remain show that important business was entrusted to him from all parts of the Connecticut Colony, as well as from Boston and New York. The dockets of the Courts in manuscript left by him are many in number. The cases in which he was engaged had almost exclusively to do with financial questions, suits for money borrowed, attachments on property, etc. Our forefathers had no hesitation about going to Law, and Jared Ingersoll was retained constantly to look out for the interests of Clients from all over the Eastern Country. Fellow-lawyers, many of whom bore distinguished names like Gold Silliman of Fairfield County, Governor William Livingston of New Jersey, James Parker of New York, who had oversight of the Postal Service, asked him to look out for cases in which they were interested, which were coming before Connecticut Courts. Besides the requests which came to him in letters which bear well-remembered names, there are hundreds of letters in the collection from less known men in a great many Connecticut towns. There are also similar letters from Clients who bore distinguished names in New York and throughout Southern New England.

It is to be said of nearly all the letters in the collection that they relate mainly to business matters. There is much in the correspondence which adds indirectly to our knowledge of the time and gives us a more definite picture of the way in which

life went on in New Haven and in the Colony one hundred and fifty years ago. The impression one gets from reading the letters is that of a busy, trusted, high-minded man and Lawyer, whose professional services were in demand and whose advice was constantly sought. He must have taken a high place at once in the City and the Colony, and there is not a sentence that suggests other than dignity and fine sense of the duties of a citizen and neighbor and friend, not a sentence that any one of his descendants would wish changed. It is difficult for me to present him to you as a man living and working with other men, entering into the life of the Town, while one would gladly get back of the lawyer and official and know the man himself. Among the men with whom he was associated in College or in the Colony, were those who did much to shape the life of the time and the course of events in political and ecclesiastical matters alike. He was a brother-in-law of Rev. Chauncey Whitelsey of the first Church, for a reflection upon whose piety, when he was a Tutor in College, David Brainerd, as near a great Saint as any man that Yale has produced, was expelled in 1741. William Livingston, the first Governor of the State of New Jersey, a frequent correspondent in later years, Richard Mansfield, for seventy-two years Rector of the Episcopal Church in Derby, Dr. Hopkins, one of the three greatest New England Theologians of that Century, were in the class before him in College. Joseph Hawley, one of the most influential men of his time in Massachusetts, was his classmate, and William Samuel Johnson, one of the first Senators from Connecticut and lifelong friend as we shall see, was in College at the same time. He was, probably, in friendly or professional relations with most of the influential men in the Colony in the middle of the Eighteenth Century.

There was probably little in the twenty years following the graduation of Jared Ingersoll, in which he was making a place for himself as a lawyer in New Haven, of special interest to be recorded. The great struggle between Great Britain and France for the possession of the American continent was on, and the Colonies were sending great numbers of men to the French wars.

A good many of the men who were then to fight beside British soldiers, were in training, on the northern frontier of New England and New York, to fight against British soldiers twenty years later. Minor questions were obscured by the struggle with France and the questions which were to determine the separation of Great Britain and the Colonies were hardly in sight. The capture of Quebec in 1759 determined the great issue on this continent and the results of the war were registered in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. There were questions of claims against the home government arising, and in 1758 Mr. Ingersoll was appointed agent for the Colony to present and prosecute the claims.

Connecticut with the other Colonies had responded liberally in appropriations for the military undertakings, and serious questions arose between the mother country and the Colonies. The Home Government thought that the Colonies had not given very large sums and the Stamp Act was devised to get more money from them to pay for the war, which was regarded as largely for their interest, while the Colonies felt that they were on this continent doing much to determine the question whether Great Britain or France would be the great world-wide power.

As an agent for the Colony to look out for its interests Mr. Ingersoll was sent to London and he was there for about three years, returning in 1762. This appointment shows the high place which he had won in the regard of the Colony, and a still further mark of confidence was shown on his return by his election in 1762 to the upper house of the Assembly. He had plainly many matters of business committed to him. The correspondence shows that questions had arisen as to the cutting down of trees for masts for use in ship building and equipment in northern New England. Great Britain was looking out for naval supplies of this kind and guarding its resources carefully. Apparently they were floated down the Connecticut River to Middletown, and there were questions as to whether careful account had been kept and instructions followed in respect to the number of masts and spars.

He was shortly to go back to London, in 1764, on private business, and while there he was asked by the authorities of the Colony to act with the duly appointed Colonial agent in the questions which were coming up. He was plainly in close communication with Franklin who was sent over from Pennsylvania in that same year, rather strangely as it seems to us, in the effort to make Pennsylvania more distinctly a royal province and so free from some of the difficulties which private interests had caused, an undertaking which Franklin soon abandoned.

We may think of Jared Ingersoll as in the group of Lawyers, who were in the middle of the Eighteenth Century giving to their profession a place of new respect and honor. In the Colonies, up to this time, the Ministry had been the one learned profession. That there might be an educated Ministry, the Colleges of New England had been established. The Lawyer had not the place which was soon after and thenceforth accorded to him. I suppose the great growth of legal business only now began.

Horace Binney has written that the condition in Pennsylvania was about the same as in New England. His words, "From what I have been able to learn of the early history of Pennsylvania, it was a long time before she possessed any Lawyers of eminence. They were never wanting men of strong minds, very well able to conduct the business of the Courts without much regard to form. In the narrowness of the tradition, taken all together, the Constitution of the Provincial Supreme Court, in which the Chief Justice was commonly the only Lawyer, the total absence of every note of judicial decision until 1754, and, all but total until after 1766, has caused that Bar to disappear from nearly all memories at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century."

About the middle of the Eighteenth Century there seems to have been an astonishing development of litigation in the Colonies. No one can read the Ingersoll Papers, with the correspondence concerning Lawsuits in respect to property, without finding very definite confirmation of what the historian Lecky has written on the subject. The Letters show that a great number of people

were desirous of going to Law to collect debts, to remedy wrongs, fancied or real, and there is not very much said about settling questions out of Court. There was a disposition to strike very soon after the warning or threat was given. One might make a long list of people all over Connecticut and quite beyond the Colony, men and women who desired to retain the services of Mr. Ingersoll and who were urging him to avoid delays. He had many notable Clients and was evidently interested in many cases which were of great interest and importance at the time. We know that the Colonies had many contentions one with another, and the spirit of contention would seem to have existed within the Colonies. It may be that the time had been reached in Colonial growth, which comes in the life of an individual when he is more disposed to assert his rights and to be willing to fight, than earlier or later. One Writer, Tucker, says that in no Country, perhaps, in the World, are there so many Law-suits. Lecky writes that up to this time the profession of a Lawyer was looked upon as in some degree dishonest and disreputable. Mr. Ingersoll must have been one of the men to give character to the profession of the Law, and high place belongs to him in what may be spoken of as almost the first group of Connecticut Lawyers. President Dwight wrote of him as an Advocate,—“few men have excelled him in clear and comprehensive thought and strong powers of reasoning; and few men ever managed a case with more skill. . . . His eloquence was remarkably calm and dispassionate; but was exhibited with so much candour and fairness, as to be remarkably persuasive. Indeed of the eloquence which is designed to convince, it was almost a perfect pattern. The same candour and fairness appeared in all his deportment.”

Just at this time there came a new and very great interest in the study and practice of the Law, which Burke may be quoted as having observed. Noah Webster, writing later, in 1787, said of this time, “There never was such a rage for the study of the Law, an infallible proof that the business is lucrative.” In less than a Generation, at the outbreak of the War of Independence and in the establishment of the Government after it, the names

of great and distinguished Lawyers of large influence appear and come to the minds of all who have read the History. I am warranted in asking you to give a good place to Jared Ingersoll, here in New Haven, among the men who gave to the study and practice of the Law, a new position in the Colonies. The new questions, which were arising between the Home Government and the Colonies, were bringing Mr. Ingersoll and others into personal knowledge of and association with great English Lawyers.

Mr. Ingersoll was in London watching the course of events and learning all he could during the discussions which led to the passing of the Stamp Act and the making up of the issue which ten years later was to bring the War for Independence. At the time there was very little appreciation in Great Britain of what this discussion meant, and of what the outcome would be. It was simply a measure to raise money and make the Colonies pay more for the government expenses, as probably they ought to have done. There were great principles involved, as is often the case with measures which in themselves seem not to be of very great importance, and the way in which the business proceeded and was concluded was especially irritating. Probably a different course would have produced the result which the Home Government desired without the bitterness and contention which came. There is no need of saying much about this for it is the judgment now of the English historians as well as of our own.

Mr. Ingersoll had a position of special importance, however, as the accredited agent of one of the Colonies and as one of the two men then in London to be appointed Stamp Masters and to come back home with full knowledge of the course of the discussion and to perform the duties of the office. There is reason to believe that he worked with Franklin to prevent the introduction into the Act of some very objectionable and irritating provisions. It is interesting to remember how imperfectly Franklin and his associates in London understood the feeling in the Colonies on this subject and how they failed to appreciate what the reception of the Stamp Act would be. They made the best fight against it

they could and having failed they accepted the result and assumed that the Colonies would do the same and settle down and after much grumbling use the stamps.

London was not a good place where to judge the sentiment of the Colonies, even as Washington is now counted one of the worst places where to judge of the political sentiment of the country. The government rushed through the measure with a sort of contemptuous treatment of the Colonies and of their representatives in London, and it is said that the Stamp Act attracted hardly any attention in England. The remonstrance of the Colonial agents was disregarded finally on February 2nd, 1765. The bill was introduced without debate in the Commons on the 13th, sent to the Lords on the 27th, received royal sanction by commission, the King being then insane, on March 22nd, to go into effect November 1st. It was passed in the Commons by a vote of 205 to 49 and in the Lords without debate, division or protest. Lord Grenville thought that much consideration had been shown in appointing as Stamp Masters men who were living in the Colonies already, not sending strangers from England. Franklin named his Quaker friend John Hughes for Pennsylvania and doubtless, through his influence, Jared Ingersoll was appointed for Connecticut. Franklin wrote home the day after the Act was passed, "We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. Since it is down let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us." It is strange how little such a wise man as Franklin or such an intelligent man as Jared Ingersoll and other representatives of the Colonies understood the feeling at home and the reception which the Stamp Act would have. It is an example of the inability of well-trained men, some of them called statesmen, to appreciate the deep and strong movements which come in the world's life.

Mr. Ingersoll's name finds a place in most of the histories of the time because he heard and recorded the speech of Colonel Barré, which is said to have been about the only utterance which enlivened a very dull debate upon the Stamp Act. Townshend had asked, with something of contempt, "And now will these

American children, planted by our care, nourished up to strength and opulence by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?" Colonel Barré who had served with Wolfe in America, a native of Dublin, and a Trinity graduate, with a better understanding of the feeling of the Colonies, won the abiding regard of the Colonists by his reply which Jared Ingersoll wrote down as he sat in the gallery of the house and sent to Governor Thomas Fitch of Connecticut.

"They planted by your care! No; your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated, unhospitable country. . . . Yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those who should have been their friends.

"They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew up by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, . . . men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those Sons of Liberty to recoil within them.

"They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exerted a valor, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me—remember I this day told you so—the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still. This people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the King has; but the people are jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violent. But the subject is too delicate; I will say no more."

Mr. Ingersoll said that the whole house for a time seemed to sit in a state of amazement, intently looking without replying a word. That phrase "Sons of Liberty" was adopted at once in the Colonies and the organization played a great part in the years which were to follow. Mr. Ingersoll little thought on that 27th day of February, 1765, what the "Sons of Liberty" in Connecticut were to do to him before the year was out, and what an effective organization it was to be in uniting the Colonists against the mother country. The name of Colonel Barré was to live on in remembrance of the Colonists. He told the House of Commons, or the government, that if they would keep their

hands out of the Yankees' pockets they would get on very well, a sentiment by all Yankees approved.

Massachusetts replaced the town name of Hutchinson, given in honor of its last royal governor, with the name of Barre. The name is borne by a town in Vermont and probably elsewhere, and makes part of the name of Wilkesbarre in Pennsylvania.

No reader of American history can but be interested in noting the quietness with which the Stamp Act was first received and how little there was to indicate what a rallying cry it would make for the Colonies in that very year of 1765. It was counted but a bit of routine business by the government and Parliament of Great Britain and it looked as if it would be accepted and obeyed in the Colonies or gotten about in some ingenious way. There was apparently no thought that the office would be unpopular or that there would be any special difficulty about the enforcement of the law. Mr. Ingersoll of Connecticut came home from London with his own commission and other commissions for the fortunate men who were to have the emoluments of what was supposed to be a well-paying office: Andrew Oliver of Massachusetts, Augustus Johnson of Rhode Island, James McEvers of New York, William Coxe of New Jersey, John Hughes of Pennsylvania, George Mercer of Virginia, William Houston of North Carolina, Caleb Lloyd of South Carolina, Zachariah Hood of Maryland, and Angus of Georgia.

Mr. Ingersoll reached Boston August 1st and the disillusion came when on the 12th, the birthday of the Prince of Wales and a general holiday, large crowds wandered up and down the streets shouting "Pitt and Liberty!" and two days later hung in effigy from the Liberty Tree, an elm near the corner of Washington and Essex Streets, Andrew Oliver, the proposed Stamp Master of Massachusetts. His stamp office was destroyed and his house attacked, and before the month was gone the great house of Governor Hutchinson was destroyed by a mob. It was a wild time in Boston and a very discreditable part of our history. There was little discrimination in the violence of the

mob, but the authorities could do nothing against the rage which the Stamp Act had stirred up.

The Record as regards New York is given by Ellen Chase as follows :

"The stamps for New York reached that city during the sitting of Congress and the stamp master, James McEvers, implored they might be lodged in Fort George at the foot of Broadway. This did not suit the populace and the coffee houses buzzed with plans for getting the papers into the keeping of the city. Finally Captain Isaac Sears, an ex-privateersman, told some bold fellows to follow him, and waited upon the acting-Governor, Cadwallader Colden, an old Scotchman of eighty, and asked him to turn the papers over. In the absence of the Governor, Sir Henry Moore, Colden replied, he must be excused from action.

Hearing this, a mob broke into Colden's stable, dragged out his coach, and seated a dummy inside with a bill of lading in its right hand and a demon in its left. The whole was then paraded before the counterscarp of the fort. In his indignation, it is said, Colden would have fired into the crowd, but was restrained by Gage. A bonfire had been prepared on the Bowling Green, and coach and all were speedily consumed. The mob then marched to the corner of the present Worth Street and West Broadway and demolished the house occupied by Major James, who had threatened to cram the stamps down the peoples' throats with his sword if necessary, and had boasted that with four and twenty more he could drive all the Sons of Liberty out of town 'for a pack of rascals.' But discretion appears to have been accounted the better part of valor and next day the stamps were surrendered."

The years 1765-67 are outstanding years in our Colonial History. There probably had been more notice now taken of the 150th Anniversary of the events marking those years if the great war had not engrossed our attention, for we have been keeping with great interest and profit, Centennial and Semi-centennial Anniversaries. In Connecticut and New Haven we have special reason for recalling that year because Colony and City had in it special places of importance. The passing and repeal of the Stamp Act, the agitation concerning it and its effect upon the relation of the Colonies to the Mother Country, give to the years special interest. While Jared Ingersoll was the Stamp Master appointed for the Connecticut Colony alone he held a peculiar relation to the Act, having been in England when it was discussed and passed, and having received his commission there.

Up to 1765, notwithstanding some irritations, the regard of the Colonies for the Mother Country was strong and the thought of rebellion and independence was in few minds. There were wise men, who foresaw and prophesied that the defeat of France in the new World, which filled Great Britain with rejoicing, would mean the loss of the American Colonies. One of the later Historians has said that the fall of Quebec in 1759 made certain a new Nation formed of the American Colonies. It is very easy for us now to see how this worked out. As long as the Colonies stood in fear of the French, firmly established in Canada, making their way toward the great West and down the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys with the Indian tribes as their allies, the Colonies would naturally look to Great Britain for help. They were quite ready to raise troops, as many as twenty-five thousand men, with large sums of money for their own defence, but they would naturally look for help to the Mother Country.

When Quebec had fallen and the domination of France in the North and West was at an end, the fear of the French and the sense of dependence upon Great Britain were both greatly lessened. A new era of prosperity with greater security of the frontier came and the Settlers pushed out Westward all along the line. If the treatment of the Colonies by Great Britain had been more intelligent and generous, independence had been delayed, very likely for a considerable time. There was, throughout the Colonies, great pride in their British origin and the connecting links in family traditions were strong. The policy of Great Britain, however, as has been said, was extremely unintelligent. There is little use of criticising that policy now, for it was quite as intelligent as the treatment of its Colonies by France or the Colonial policy of any other Nation. Colonies were to be used altogether for the benefit of the Home Country, to be exploited without regard to their own interests or future development. Manufactures were to be discouraged that Great Britain might do it all. British vessels were to be used in the carrying trade that there might be no rivalry in this particular

with the Colonies. The outcome was very extensive trade with the West Indies and European Nations, which was nothing more than smuggling, in defiance of unreasonable laws. One of the parting shots of Chief Justice Oliver of Massachusetts upon leaving the Colony as a Loyalist when the War of Independence came, was that smuggling was the foundation stone of the American Nation.

With their energy, their skill, ingenuity and adaptiveness, developed under the conditions in the new World, the Colonies were getting on very well with scant regard for British Navigation Regulations or the ordinary requirements of British Law. The security of the Mother Country was largely in the fact that there were no end of controversies between the Colonies, jealousies and rivalries, questions of boundaries, and many others. The well-designed Union between the Colonies, suggested by Franklin in the Albany Conference in 1754 for mutual protection and regard for common interests, had failed to receive favor when it was presented to the Colonies for approval. These disputes and jealousies are hardly recognized by most of us as we study this period of our National Life.

The fruits of the victory of Wolfe over Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham in 1759 were determined in the Peace of Paris in 1763, and the Colonies had no more need of looking to the Mother Country for help against the French or the Indians. The new World was their own, and with new vigor and hopes they set about taking possession of it. There was irritation which, if not removed, would certainly make trouble, but having made disobedience of the Laws of the Mother Country respectable, they would get on.

The debt of Great Britain, incurred because of the French Wars, had grown to a large amount and was counted a great burden. It was all together only about what Great Britain is spending each month in the present War, but, it was a great sum then. And English Statesmen, so called, set about devising a scheme to make the Colonies bear a considerable part of this debt. So the controversies began with the Stamp Act as the

outcome in this year of 1765, with a stirring up of ill will on the part of the Colonies towards Great Britain from which there was no going back.

Of the legal questions suggested by the Stamp Act, the right to tax the Colonies in this way, I am not fitted to speak, nor is it necessary. I have always supposed that while there was a great question involved and while a good case might be made out for the Colonies, that the difficulty for them was somewhat exaggerated. I have supposed that a good deal could be said for the propriety of the demand of the Home Government that the Colonies should pay more into the Common Treasury, towards the debt incurred in the French Wars, and for the common protection. The requirement of Government stamps has been generally counted a fair way of taxation, as we remember from the Civil War and the Spanish War. For the stupidity of those who forced the Stamp Act through, with scant consideration for the feeling in the Colonies, nothing can be said. Agents of the British Government had been through the Colonies, observing the increase in wealth and resources, and their reports made the Home Government feel sure that the Colonies could be fairly taxed. Eight million Englishmen were bearing the National debt of about \$750,000,000, while two million Americans had reduced their debt to about \$4,000,000. It was proposed to raise about \$500,000 through the Stamp Act. The Colonies had provided no less than twenty-five thousand men and large sums of money for their equipment and support in the French Wars. The money had come from Grants from the Colonies and not by taxation under order from the Home Government. In the Colonies a distinction was made between the right to ask the Colonies for money as a free gift, and internal taxation, which last they claimed was entirely their own concern. They could make out a good case through precedents made by their own History. They found a staunch defender in Mr. Pitt, who said that the Kingdom had no right to lay a tax on the Colonies, that taxation was no part of the governing or legislative power, that taxes were a voluntary gift, a Grant of the Commons alone, and that the distinction between legislation and

taxation was necessary for the preservation of liberty, and that the Colonial Assemblies represented the Commons in the Colonies. That principle was dear to all English lovers of liberty, for rights had always been gained by the necessity of Kings coming to Parliament to obtain money, compelled to make concessions to get it.

The principle of the Stamp Act might be defended but there was very much that was irritating and unnecessary in its application and enforcement. The Colonies were well informed as to what was being planned in England, and were preparing to put in their case through their Agents there. It is interesting to know that Jared Ingersoll, as stated in the Connecticut Public Records, March 10th, 1764, was associated with Ebenezer Silliman, Grandfather of Prof. Benjamin Silliman, and George Wyllys, Secretary of the Colony, to assist Governor Fitch in making out the Connecticut case against the proposed Stamp Act. It was the Connecticut tradition, that its presentation of the case was regarded in London as particularly strong.

Mr. Ingersoll, on arriving in London in the latter part of 1764, had worked hard with the Agent of the Connecticut Colony, Mr. Richard Jackson, and in close association with Benjamin Franklin and others, to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act. They represented the feeling in the Colonies as well as the principles which were involved. It is believed that Mr. Ingersoll had part in inducing the Government to modify some provisions in the Act which were especially irritating. There was no hope of preventing the passage of the Act, and it would seem that in the Colonies the opposition developed more strongly than the Colonial Representatives in London appreciated. They knew the strong opposition to it, but they could hardly have known how far the Colonies would go in defiance of the proposed action of the British Government. Scant regard was paid to their representations although they had strong men in sympathy with them, in William Pitt, Captain Barré, Edmund Burke, Conway, and others. The Government had determined the course it would take and nothing could change it. The Stamp Act was finally passed in March, 1765, to go into operation in

November 1st of that year. The Colonies had stated their case and made their plea as well, probably, as it could be done, and the step was taken which would lead, whether men knew it or not, to a breach between the Colonies and the Mother Country which would never be healed.

It seems quite certain that Benjamin Franklin advised Mr. Ingersoll to accept the Office of Stamp Master for the Connecticut Colony, and very likely the Colonial Representatives had some influence in the endeavor to make the appointments in all the Colonies, such as to make the operation of the Law less irritating. Men from the Colonies were chosen, as likely to be more acceptable than men sent over from England. Some letters of Mr. Ingersoll, written during the ten months of his stay in London, have been preserved. Some of them have to do with the details of his personal life. Other letters, which were written to friends in rather a free way, expressing his opinions and thoughts about the business in which he was in London, made him much trouble afterward. They were misunderstood and misinterpreted and represented him as less zealous in representing the feeling in the Colony than was desired at home. Such use of letters, which were in the nature of private correspondence, seemed to him later, on his return, to require the defence which he made for his course of conduct. The impression left from all we can learn is that he was a faithful servant of the Colony, trying to represent it fairly while not appreciating the development of fierce hatred of the Government, not expecting any such opposition as came. So he was back home again in August, 1765, three months before the hated Stamp Act was to come into operation. He found all the Colonies in a state of great excitement and probably beyond anything of which he dreamed.

In May, under the inspiration of Patrick Henry, resolutions had been presented to the Virginia Colonial Assembly which were very strong in their denunciation of the Stamp Act and threatening in their tone. They were modified before they went out as the Official Act of the Assembly, but the original draft had found its way through the Northern Colonies and was by some

supposed to be the official action of Virginia and it found everywhere a response. There was violence in many places. The appointed Stamp Masters found it impossible to exercise their Office. The stamps to the different Colonies were not received. Some were destroyed. Some were left under control of the Royal Authorities with the promise that they should not be used. The distribution of the stamps was impossible. A mob in Boston had destroyed the building which Andrew Oliver, the appointed Stamp Master, intended to use. The great house of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, last of the Royal Governors of Massachusetts, was destroyed with the irreparable loss of historical papers and documents which he had been gathering for thirty years. Stamp Masters had sent in their resignations. Men who had asked for appointments were disclaiming ever having wished to hold such an unpopular Office. Stamp Masters everywhere were hung in effigy and representations of them burned. We have been accustomed to call it the exhibition of Patriotism, even as we learned out of the old school-books, but there is much in the record that we would all wish could be blotted out.

Less than a year before, Jared Ingersoll had gone away with a commission by the Colony to defend its interests, a distinguished and honored Lawyer, an outstanding citizen and public man in the Colony, already at the age of forty-three having made a large place for himself with the prospect of a still greater career in his profession and in his public life before him. His sympathies were with his Colony and he had doubtless done his very best to represent it truly and he had a right to feel that in the presence of the inevitable, he had done all that any man could to make it easier to obey the new Law, making it less irritating and burdensome; and now he came back to find his old neighbors hostile and threatening, person and property alike in danger. It must have been a very hard experience for a dignified, high-spirited man, conscious of his integrity and high purposes. There were those, doubtless, who had sympathy for him but they were helpless. Old friends did not desert him nor forget how he had lived among them and served them, but there was the

thoughtless crowd to make his life uncomfortable or worse. The resignation of his Office was demanded by the people, the majority probably, and no man of self-respect likes to yield to the crowd or the mob under fear of violence. The question immediately arose as to whom a resignation could be given. It was an appointment from the British Government, not from the Colony itself. Some Stamp Masters had been almost abject in declaring that they would never exercise the Office. Mr. Ingersoll's regard for Law must have led him to wish to act under Law rather than under force, and the only Body to whom he could turn was the Colonial Assembly, then in session at Hartford.

Of the scenes accompanying the resignation of the Office of Stamp Master, I do not care to speak at length. It is not a very creditable page in our History although we may be most glad that it was not marked by the violence and brutality which are recorded elsewhere. On horseback Mr. Ingersoll started for Hartford over the road on which he had doubtless gone many times in the practice of his profession or the performance of official duties, by way of Middletown, I suppose, and the West side of the River thereafter. It is a familiar story of the way in which a company of five hundred men on horseback, gathered mainly from the Eastern part of the State, fell in with him and accompanied him, demanding when Wethersfield was reached that he should resign his Office and only satisfied when he had written out his resignation which he said he would present to the Assembly at Hartford. This company of men seems to have been under the command of Major John Durkee of Norwich, a prominent officer in the Connecticut Militia, of whom one reads later in the story of the Battle of Bunker Hill. It is said that General Putnam would have had the direction of this company of men but for illness. The eastern part of the Colony seems to have provided these men and to have been the part in which the Sons of Liberty were most numerous and best organized. Why it was so I do not quite understand. I do not know that when the War came on there was any particular distinction between the different parts of Connecticut, some Loyalists every-

where but substantial unity for the Colonial cause. Very reluctant to yield to force but recorded as saying that the Office was not worth dying for, Mr. Ingersoll promised his resignation, and the men, having been satisfied, the dinner was eaten, at Wethersfield, and the procession to Hartford continued with trumpeters going before, and there the act of resignation was completed. One cannot forbear repeating the pleasantry of Jared Ingersoll, mounted on his white horse, when asked how it seemed to be so conducted, that he had a clearer idea than ever before of that passage in the Book of the Revelation which describes Death on a pale horse and all Hell following. The dinner at Wethersfield, which followed Mr. Ingersoll's promise of resignation, seems to have been eaten with general good feeling. The men who forced the resignation were not exactly lawless with the vicious spirit of similar companies of men in other Colonies. I suppose, however, that some of them were such men as are spoken of in Holy Scripture as of "the baser sort." I quote from Horace Binney on the subject because with his intimacy with Jared Ingersoll, Jr., very likely he knew the tradition which survived in the family.

"This was the first and perhaps the best conducted case of Lynch Law that lawbooks report. It shed no blood, it broke no bones, and it accommodated the constituted authorities to their heart's content. The Stamp Act was dead and the death could not be laid at their door. A striking feature to disprove personal malice on any side was this, that, although affidavits were taken and filed, and some show made of calling out the judicial authorities, Mr. Ingersoll named no names, though he knew the leaders as well as they knew him. Such a contest would ordinarily have driven the weaker Party into exile, or the extremity of opposition, but in this case it did neither. Mr. Ingersoll was loyal to the British Constitution and to the Crown, as were hundreds of thousands of the Colonists in the same day; but he never was a Loyalist in the special sense, and his refusal to surrender his commission except by the application of his major did not alienate the people from him nor him from them. He remained in his natal homestead, but during the ten year's of irritated pride on one side, and of dogged contumacy on the other, which intervened between the repeal of the Stamp Act and the Declaration of Independence, he was more of an observer than an actor."

Mr. Ingersoll took up his duties again in New Haven and there are many letters to show that he had not forfeited the

respect of his old friends. While in the contentions which followed he could not be called a Loyalist of the most devoted kind, he could not take his place with old friends like Roger Sherman, Gov. Livingston, Gold Silliman, in complete service of the Colonial cause. At a critical time there are always men who do not see their way to take sides without reserve, whether for King or Parliament in the middle of the Seventeenth Century, or for King or Colony in the third quarter of the Eighteenth Century, or for North or South in our own Civil War, and they are likely to be unjustly judged as the passions of men are aroused and unreserved decision for one side or the other seems necessary. I like to think that, however strongly men felt in Connecticut at this time, houses were not destroyed nor men put in danger of their lives. The case of William Samuel Johnson, first Senator from the State, is a striking example of the fair judgment of our people at the time, and I suppose Jared Ingersoll's position must have been much the same.

Jared Ingersoll and William Samuel Johnson, who succeeded his father as the second President of King's or Columbia College in 1787, were friends and correspondents from their college days. It is a strange thing that two men who probably thought very much alike as regards the relation of the mother country and the Colonies should have such different fortunes. Neither one could stand for the Colonies or the King in an unqualified way, while both were good servants of their own Colony in its controversies with the British government. As we have seen, Mr. Ingersoll returned to find his people bitterly hostile, old friends alienated, and retirement from public life necessary, and to go down to his death at the age of fifty-nine under a cloud of suspicion and disappointment. Mr. Johnson came back from London, whither he had gone to represent the Colony in the question of the Mohegan Lands, to be enthusiastically received in the Colony and with the testimonial of the thanks of the General Assembly for his faithful service. When the War of Independence came Mr. Johnson retired to Stratford as a Loyalist and was one time under arrest because the townspeople appealed to him to influence the commander of the British fleet in the

Sound not to capture Stratford. Mr. Ingersoll at New Haven and Mr. Johnson at Stratford were in retirement during the war, but when the end came Mr. Johnson became a representative of the Colony at the convention which formed the Constitution and one of the first Senators from Connecticut with apparently all of his Loyalist sympathies forgotten. It may have been that had Jared Ingersoll lived beyond 1781 he also had been reinstated in the confidence of the Colony which he had served so well. The explanation of it all seems to me to have been the fact that while the great issue was being made up Ingersoll was in London and without the influences about him which would have shaped his course with that of his own people toward the Royal Government.

The Reverend Dr. Beardsley, biographer of William Samuel Johnson as well as of his father, has published some of the letters which passed between Johnson and Ingersoll. After his enforced resignation of the office of Stamp Master, which he says became the most odious that could well be imagined, he writes to Johnson, "I have found myself in the most distressed situation, between the obligations of my office and the resentments of the people, but hope it will not be long before I shall be rid of both."

Johnson when in London had his friend Ingersoll in mind. When it was known that the King was disposed to bestow some marks of his favor upon those governors and officers in America who had suffered because of their loyalty Johnson wrote to his father in May, 1767, "The Chief Justiceship of New York is thought of for Mr. Ingersoll, but it may be best not to mention this at present as it is not yet known whether the engagement which had been made of it to another person (I imagine Mr. Gardiner) can be decently avoided, but he and the other sufferers will have the first things that offer." In a letter to Johnson two months later Ingersoll writes, "I will frame no objections to the Chief Justiceship of New York nor to a seat on the new Board of Revenue, nor to any other that you shall approve of, as I still have full confidence in your judgment and friendship." So there was a plain desire on the part of Mr.

Ingersoll's friends in his ill fortune to show for him great regard.

There is in the Connecticut Gazette of August 30th, 1765, which was only three weeks after Mr. Ingersoll reached home, one of those anonymous letters which express the rude spirit of the time, ending however with these words, "In the meantime I think it cannot serve the common cause to treat him with scurrility, for there are a great many brave hearts in this Colony that hate a Stamp Master but love Mr. Ingersoll." The situation may perhaps be summed up in those words, "the struggle in New Haven and Connecticut between hatred of a Stamp Master and love of Mr. Ingersoll." Private correspondence was little regarded then and some private letters of Mr. Ingersoll and some utterances, in themselves not compromising, were used by his enemies in their attacks upon him, so that in response to requests of friends he published in a small volume his correspondence and a statement of his attitude through the whole controversy. That he was altogether honest one must believe. If he had been in New Haven in 1764 and 1765 instead of being in London it would have come to him doubtless in a different way.

We are not left without knowledge of the indignities which Mr. Ingersoll suffered in New Haven in that month of September, 1765. One reads, in Levermore's "Republic of New Haven," that crowds gathered around his house in a threatening manner and burnt him in effigy. He gave his fellow-citizens notification that he did not expect to enforce the Stamped Paper on anybody but desired the citizens to think more of how to get rid of the Stamp Act than of the Officers who were to supply them with the Paper, and to let further knowledge diminish their anger. The authorities felt obliged to protect him from the crowd but on the 17th, the Town Meeting voted that representatives in the General Assembly should labor for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and in his presence the Meeting resolved that the freemen present earnestly desired Mr. Ingersoll to resign his Stamp Office immediately. With greater courage than many who held like positions in other Colonies, he declared that he

would not resign except in accordance with the will of the General Assembly. This same writer says that for a year or two Mr. Ingersoll was under a good deal of restraint and that his letters were tampered with, but letters show that his practice in the Law was maintained as well as many friendships. In 1770 he was on a Committee chosen to consider the commercial interests of the town of New Haven, when there was much discussion upon non-importation and domestic manufacture, with such men as David Wooster, Roger Sherman and James A. Hillhouse. Interesting letters belong to these years as well as a great deal of correspondence of a business kind. He was under a shadow, however, and the ties of friendship binding him to New Haven were loosened.

The Royal favor, which Mr. Ingersoll had earned, came to him in the appointment as Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty in the Middle Colonies. His duties required his residence in Philadelphia and he moved to that city in 1771. There is something pathetic in the removal of Jared Ingersoll from New Haven, where he had lived his whole life of fifty years and where for thirty years he had been a distinguished lawyer performing many public duties and serving the Colony in many ways, having incurred the ill will of lifelong friends and neighbors because of his political opinions. There are many indications, however, that not all friends turned from him, nor that life became entirely burdensome for him.

The coming of the War of Independence brought an end of the exercise of Mr. Ingersoll's office and he returned to New Haven in 1777 and died four years later. He was buried under Center Church and in the Crypt you may still read the inscription which in dignified words expresses the judgment of neighbors and friends. It will be found in Vol. III of the New Haven Historical Society Papers.

President Stiles in his diary of August 25th, 1781, in a tone which the time accounts for, wrote, "About noon died Jared Ingersoll, Esq. of this town, aged fifty-nine. He had passed through a variety in life. By accepting the office of Stamp Master in 1765 he rendered himself obnoxious. He had for-

merly the confidence of his country and was sent over Agent by Connecticut to Great Britain. He was Judge of Admiralty with six hundred pounds sterling, salary, but all this made him unhappy."

At a later time, when the bitterness of the war had subsided, President Dwight wrote that Mr. Ingersoll was unjustly censured for taking the office which was urged upon him and which he accepted with the thought that he could make its operation less burdensome than it would be in the hands of a stranger.

I ask myself whether this great Democratic movement, in the Colonies one hundred and fifty years ago, was not from the plainer people, the unprivileged folk, from those, who with less education are more easily moved by their feelings and do not let respect for Law interfere with their sympathy for what they feel to be right. Those years were a turning point in the Colonial History and so in the World's History, the lining up against a hard and perverse British Policy and against those who stood for it in the Colonies and who were really the privileged people of the Colonies, of the great company of men who are moved by feeling and instinct as to what their rights are and are not over particular as to the way in which they assert them. They may make an orderly mob, like that which followed Jared Ingersoll to Hartford, or such a mob as destroyed Gov. Hutchinson's house and Andrew Oliver's Stamp Office. I ask myself if there be not some analogy between what happened in the Colonies in 1765 and what has been happening in our generation as Organized Labor and men who feel they are wronged by the Industrial Order of our day are striving, often in violent ways, to set right what they think to be wrong and assert what they feel to be their rights. Will some one say whether the inspiration for this new movement, which some people to-day fear and would repress and few of us understand and appreciate, may not be found in that decade in the American Colonies to which our thoughts now turn. Wise men of that day, whether in London or in the Colonies, were deceived as to what the Colonies would do and did not reckon with what I think may be called the Democratic Spirit which had developed in the new world.

Again, in New England, the Clergy of the Congregational Churches had very much to do in arousing and developing this new spirit. Hollister, in his not very satisfactory History of Connecticut, says that there was manifested in the Colony a disposition to submit to the Stamp Act in silence, that, of the cultivated classes, the Clergymen, for a while, almost were alone in their opposition to the measure. Rev. Stephen Johnson of Lyme is spoken of as one who did much to make an end of what he calls the "dangerous lethargy that had lulled the Judges to sleep and had taken strong hold of the Council." The words in which the Historian described Mr. Johnson's method may well be quoted, "With a bony grasp, this fearless soldier of the cross seized the noisome dragon of ministerial tyranny by the throat, and clung around his neck with such strangling force, that it was compelled to disclose its deformities to the people by the writhings of its pain. Other clergymen took up the warfare. They impugned the stamp act in their sermons, they classed its loathed name in their prayers with those of sin, satan, and the mammon of unrighteousness. The people were soon roused to a sense of danger. The flames of opposition, so long suppressed, now began to break forth." The Colonial Clergy and the Sons of Liberty probably did much to hold the people in opposition to the execution of the Stamp Act and the half-hearted settlement.

It is the story of the breaking up of the life and career of a high-minded man through the turning against him of the people whom he had served, his friends and neighbors, because he could not go with them as they were swept away in a time of great excitement and popular feeling. A great company of educated and thoughtful people of the Colonies agreed with him. Education and social position and traditions were on his side, but a new spirit had developed in this western world and it could not be repressed. The Colonies made up of groups of people just emerging from hard conditions of life with a new continent behind them to be possessed were leading the way in a struggle to destroy an ancient order which had made for the happiness of privileged people with not much regard for the great company of the unprivileged in the way of security, hope and happiness.

In the leadership of this new movement there were men of vision, out of very lowly conditions in life, men treated with scant respect by the great people of the earth. Samuel Adams, a failure in business, contented with poverty, James Otis, half insane, Roger Sherman, beginning his life as a shoemaker, Israel Putnam, unlettered, Patrick Henry, a country lawyer without practice, and Benjamin Franklin, most influential of them all; they and a great company like them were the jest of the great people at London and Paris who proposed to divide the world between them, but they interpreted the spirit of the new time and the future belonged to them. There would be found an aristocrat in George Washington to be the head and director of the movement finally. But the force which sets the world along a new course is from the great company of unprivileged people, and they who get in the way of that company shall be swept aside. We have lived to see the House of Lords, which gave not a vote against the Stamp Act and treated the appeal from the Colonies with contempt, taken from its privileged place in Parliament. That spirit which developed in the Colonies a century and a half ago and having manifestations which we deplore and would gladly forget is leading the world still, and with it those who direct the fortunes of the Church and order our political, social and industrial life do well to reckon. The shot that was fired at Concord bridge some ten years after the year of the Stamp Act is echoing still around the world.



Your humb^l Son

David Ingersoll

A SELECTION FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS OF JARED INGERSOLL.

Edited by FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

The Hon. Jared Ingersoll died in New Haven in 1781, and his estate was settled by his son, a resident of Philadelphia; but a large collection of his personal papers was left in New Haven in the keeping of his nephew, the Hon. Jonathan Ingersoll, on the death of whose grandson, the Hon. Charles R. Ingersoll, in 1903, they were presented to the New Haven Colony Historical Society, under whose authority this selection is now printed.

In providing the necessary annotations, the editor has had the great advantage of the assistance of another member of the Society, Professor Charles M. Andrews, whose superior knowledge of the period under review is universally acknowledged.

The Society is fortunate in having obtained, through the kindness of Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, the Director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, permission for the reproduction of a portrait of Mr. Ingersoll, in the possession of his descendant, Mr. Ingersoll Amory, of Boston, which is believed to have been painted by Copley in New York in 1771, when the subject was in his 50th year. Charles Henry Hart, LL.B., the well-known art-expert of Philadelphia, wrote of this portrait in 1879:

The portrait of Mr. Ingersoll is a superb painting, forty by fifty inches, in Copley's best manner. It is three-quarter length, facing to right. He is represented as sitting in a large green chair, with his right arm resting upon a richly-bound book, which lies upon a table with a polished green top; in his right hand he holds a paper. The table is rich mahogany, with brass handles to the drawer, and on it are books and writing materials. He is dressed in full court suit, a scarlet coat with large gilt buttons,

garnet-coloured knee-breeches, lace ruffles, dressing and sword. He wears a long white satin waistcoat, elaborately embroidered, with buttons, a cambric neckerchief with long lace ends falling inside his vest, which is unbuttoned at the top. His left hand, which is wonderfully well painted, rests on his knee.

I. NEW HAVEN, 1743-1756.

The documents here included have been selected to illustrate the setting of Mr. Ingersoll's career in the years after his graduation from Yale in 1742, to his entrance on public life.

ACC^o. OF HANNAH INGERSOLL ALIAS WHITING,* ADVANCE IN SETTLEMENT

1744 Octobr & so forward			
½ Doz: large plates	£2.15.0	Brass Kettle	7.19.0
½ Doz. Do.	2. 2.6	Iron pot 26/ frying	
2 Dishes @ 28/	2.16.0	[. . .] 23/	2. 9.0
2 Do. @ 23/	2. 6.0	pail 3/6 10¼ y ^d Callico	
Small Do.	0.17.0	@ 15/7	8. 3.2½
2 porringers @ 7/	0.14.0	10 ^{lb} Sheeps wool @ 5/3	2.12.6
pr, Iron Candlesticks	0. 7.0	peice of tape	0. 7.6
Skimmer	0.10.0	2 pint basons @ 3/	0. 6.0
warming pan	3.10.0	½ Doz. pewter Spoons	0. 9.0
Iron Skillet	0. 9.0	tin Cullender 5/	
Sett, tea dishes & bowls	1.12.6	23 [. . .] 92/	4.17.0
Bed ticken	8. 2.0	14 ^{lb} . 3 oz feathers @ 5/	3.11.0
18 yds, Callico @ 14/	12.12.0	21 ^{lb} . Do. @ 5/	5. 5.0
looking glass	17. 0.0	bed tick weaving 12½ y ^d	
Box iron & heater	1. 5.0	@ 3/	1.17.6
Stone mug 4/6 2 ^{lbs}		weaving 11½ y ^d . linnen	
[missing]	0.14.6	@ 2/	1. 3.0
7 yds, Callico @ 15/7	5. 9.1	Do. 25 y ^d . @ 2/6	3. 2.6
4 ^{lb} : Cotton wool @ 6/	1. 4.0	Cash for Widw. Pierce	0. 4.6
1 Dish 15/ ½ Doz. N.		tea pot 28/ bellows 13/	2.01.0
[. . .]ates 27/6	2. 2.6	pr tongs & peal†	1. 3.0

* Mr. Ingersoll married, on August 1, 1743. Hannah, eldest child of the Hon. Colonel Joseph Whiting, of New Haven.

Here is given his memorandum of the value of the household furnishings which she brought as her dowry. The reckoning seems to be in Connecticut old tenor.

† Or peal = shovel.

red Earthen ware	1. 11. 2	10lb. Do. @ 5/6	2. 15. 0
3 drinking glasses	0. 5. 0	Chaffing Dish	1. 0. 0
Square whitewood table 2.	0. 0. 0	gridiron	0. 12. 0
Bedstead 35/ Statia*		Chinee Curtains	25. 0. 0
glass 50/	4. 5. 0	pr Small hand irons	
blanket 30/ Carding 4/7	1. 14. 7	wt 7lb	0. 12. 3
tea kettle £5. bason 13/	5. 13. 0		
Ladle 1/ Seive 4/6	0. 5. 6		216. 12. 0
Earthen ware	0. 4. 0	old Chest	1. 12. 0
round table 50/ old		Silver tankard wt. 20 oz.	
trunk 10/	3. 0. 0	gross	58. 13. 0
Rugg 5. 15. 6 Coverlid		2 pr Curtain rods	3. 0. 0
5£	10. 15. 6	4 tea spoons	4. 5. 0
4 yds tow Cloth @ 5/	1. 0. 0	2 old holland Sheets	6. 0. 0
pr great handirons wt.		1 Cotton old Do.	2. 10. 0
20lb @ 1/9	1. 15. 0	1 old Linnen Do.	1. 5. 0
peal 4lb ½ @ 1/9	0. 8. 0	1 pr. old holland pillow	
tongs 3½lb trammel†		beer‡	0. 15. 0
7lb	0. 18. 4½	1 holl ^d . towel 12/2 Do.	
Chest draws & dressing		Napkin	1. 12. 0
table	26. 0. 0	2 Diapr. Do. 1 Do. Damask	1. 16. 0
½ Doz. Crown Chairs @			81. 8. 0
15/	4. 10. 0	More tow Cloth	1. 0. 0
½ Doz. York Do. @ 12/	3. 12. 0		82. 8. 0
½ Do. Slat Do. @ 10/	3. 0. 0		216. 12. 0
weaving pr. white			299. 0. 0
blankets	0. 12. 0		
17lb. feathers @ 5/	4. 5. 0		

Allowed to be 350.0.0

Jared Ingersoll

DEPOSITION IN THE CASE OF HON. WARHAM MATHER.

Jared Ingersoll of New Haven of Lawfull Age Testifies as follows, viz.—In the fall of y^e Year 1743, I removed from College where I had lived about five years, & settled down an Inhabitant in the Town of New Haven. During my Stay at College I by Sight only, knew the late Warham Mather§ Esq^r. now Dec^d.

* A glass brought from Saint Eustatius, in the Dutch West Indies.

† A series of links hung in the chimney, for pots to hang on.

‡ = pillow case.

§ Warham Mather (Harvard Coll. 1685), born 1666, died 1745, had settled in New Haven about 1705, to take care of his wife's mother, the widow of John Davenport, Jr. Here he practiced medicine, and also held a judgeship.

having then never spoke to him as I Remember. Upon my settling in said Town as afores^d which I think was toward the End of Octob^r. 1743, as my Circumstances & business then Led me to an Acquaintance & Correspondence with many of the Inhabitants of s^d. Town, many of them the s^d. M^r. Mathers Intimate Acquaintance, I heard it Repeatedly said by one & another—how strangely M^r. Mather is broken!, M^r. Mather is become a mear Child, & Expressions of like Import. Some time after this while the County Court sat at New Haven, Col^l. Whiting* told me that M^r. Mather had sent to him desiring to see him. He y^e. s^d. Col^l. Whiting being not very able himself to walk, Desired me to wait upon M^r. Mather to know his mind. I went, did my Errand to M^r. Mather, he made Reply to what I said but so brokenly I could understand scarce any thing he said. After a little pause spake again brokenly & gave me a written paper; which I carried to Court & delivered to Col^l. Whiting, who Attempted to read it but could read only here & there a word: where he could read, the Sence much unconnected; he found out in general that a Conservator was y^e burden of y^e Story, it seemed to be a Remonstrance against one, there being at that time a Motion by Somebody as I was Informed, made to said Court about a Conservator to be appointed over s^d. Mather. I could not read scarce a word of s^d. Letter my self, which might possibly be Owing to this that M^r. Mathers usual hand writing was very bad, but I Remember Col^l. Whiting said that he had been so used to his writing that he could Usually heretofore read it with Ease. At what time this was I Dare not positively say, but upon the best Recollection think it was in Janu^y: 1743/4. In the fall of y^e Year 1744, viz about the Latter End of Octob^r. or beginning of Nov^r. 1744 (as to the time I am able by Certain Circumstances to Inform my Self I think with Certainty) having heard that M^r.

The inventory of his estate includes a remarkably detailed list of theological books, remnants of the libraries of his clerical ancestors.

Other affidavits respecting his loss of mind are preserved among the Ingersoll papers.

* Col. Joseph Whiting was Mr. Ingersoll's father-in-law.

Mather had some Law Books to be sold I went in order to get some; went first to M^r. Tim^o. Jones s having heard that he managed M^r. Mathers business by a power of Attorney, he not being at home as I Remember. I went alone to M^r. Mathers house, found him sitting alone by a small fire in an Elbow Chair with his hat on, partly leaning on his Staff. I spake to him, y^e s^d. Mather, upon which he slowly turned his head round & Looked toward me. I Informed him that I was Desirous to see his books hearing they were to be sold, he Answered me in several words of which I understood only y^e word Chamber, by which I supposed he meant to say y^e books were up Chamber, upon that I went up Chamber, found a Large Library. Looked among 'Em about half an hour, then went down again, found M^r. Mather sitting as before, told him I had found no books that suited me & that I had took none—Upon that after a short pause & Intently looking me in the face, he said, who be you? I told him my name was Ingersoll—but supposing he might not know me by my name only, I added that I lived in the Town & that I married one of Col^l. Whittings Daughters, Concluding that by mentioning Col^l. Whiting his Intimate Acquaintance & my Relation to him which he had Doubtless many a time heard of, that he would have had a Satisfying Knowledge of me, but upon my so saying, he turned his head toward the fire & after a pause of about half a minute & seeming Intense thinking, he said Slowly, Colonel Whiting! Where does he live? I was somewhat surprized that he should not know him, took pains to bring him to his remembrance but to no purpose. He asked whether he had any Sons, & a number of Questions about things which I supposed he must have fully known. All at once he broke off from talking about Col^l. Whiting & asked me if I had not heard of a great whale being Catch't in the harbour y^e Day before. I told him no: upon that he went on talking strange & Confused things about a whale being Catch't. y^e Day before &c. I said no more to him, but only after Viewing him a Small Space as a ruined peice of Venerable Antiquity, I bid him farewell, at which he seemed to take no Notice, & Never Spoke to him afterwards. He died, as I remember in less than a Year after this time. At

this time I could not Discern that M^r. Mather was affected by any pain of Body, but so prodigiously broken as to his Intellectuals, that I must Confess I should as soon a thought of pulling a Dead man out of his grave & getting him to Execute any Deed or other Instrument as he.—Soon after this, I believe in Less than a week, M^r James Pierpoint* Came to me & Desired to draw a Deed from s^d. M^r. Mather to the people of y^e Seperate meeting in New Haven of a Certain peice about 10 acres of Salt meadow. I was quite surprized & nonpluss^d. at the motion, & tho' I had never heard of M^r. Pierpoint in particular, yet Could not help turning my thoughts on y^e frequent Reports I had heard that there were Certain people who by a too great Inattention to M^r. Mathers brokenness, or Actuated by worse principles, were very Industrious to Entitle themselves to his Estate; after a little pause I looked M^r. Pierpoint in y^e face & smiling said, why, M^r. Pierpoint, Do you think M^r. Mather is able to Execute a Deed that will be Valid in Law? or words to that purpose, upon which M^r. Pierpoint undertook to tell me Largely how it had been the Constant purpose of M^r. Mather for a great while to give something to the people of y^e Seperate Society & the Like. I Determined 'twas not worth my while to enter into a Controversy with M^r. Pierpoint about it, therefore drew a Deed as he directed, which same Deed as I understand was on or about y^e 14th. of y^e same Nov^r. Executed by s^d. M^r. Mather & since Controverted in y^e Law, & found wanting. I Remember M^r. Mather's coming into Court, viz y^e County Court at their Sessions in April 1745, to prevent, as I understood & as I believe was then y^e Understanding of all by Standers, a Conservator being put in over him. Indeed twas Difficult knowing what he Said. He was aided in by persons holding him up by y^e Arms, he mumbled over Something to y^e Court, M^r. Caleb Tuttle one who aided him in, putting words into his mouth, but I remember y^e Judges of s^d. Court said they Supposed M^r. Mather Did not know one person in y^e room & that he could not by any means have so Effectually Convinced them of

* James Pierpont, Jr. (Yale 1718), was a leader in the establishment of the White Haven Church in 1742.

his need of a Conservator, as by shewing himself in Court & Objecting against one.

Some time last May I was before Justice Prout in behalf of M^r. Davenport at the taking of some Depositions, when Tim^o. Mix^{*} & Deborah Tuttle gave Evidence Concerning a Deed said to have been given by s^d. Mather to his Negroes. I knowing that the people of the Separate meeting in New Haven had a Claim of some meadow by a Deed from s^d. Mather, & that therefore they might be apt to think more favourably of s^d. Mathers Soundness of mind asked s^d. Mix whether he was not one of that meeting, he Answered that he was one once, but was now a Conformist to y^e Church of England—which Question & Answer^r. was put down, not in the words of y^e Question & Answer but in such words as y^e Justice (I suppose) Judged to be of like Import; upon s^d. Mix s answering as Above, I having always Understood that his, s^d. Mix s conforming to y^e Church as afores^d was but a shew of pretence asked him further where he ordinarily attended publick worship. After some pause he Answered, At y^e Church of England when I can, at other times Sometimes at y^e old meeting & some times at the New (meaning as I suppose at y^e old & new meeting houses in New Haven), & he Insisted on its being penned in words of that Import, at which I was somewhat surprized knowing I had not seen him at y^e old meeting afores^d in some Years & having always heard that he very Seldom attended on y^e Church of England worship. I told him I could not think he would Let his Answer go in that form, telling him of how small Importance soever it might be it was gross misrepresentation; upon which he said smiling it should go for it was truth, for said he I have been to y^e old meeting two half Days within this Year past, but said he, twas when M^r. Noyes Did not preach & I think he said twas on Lecture Days.

Some time after this I asked s^d. Mix if he had not in keeping sundry Wills & parts of Wills Designed for s^d. Mathers Will, he said he had; I Desired him to send them to Windham Court viz Sup^r. Court Last Sept^r, he told me he would. I afterwards

* Timothy Mix (Yale 1731) was a physician in New Haven.

asked him if he had sent them, he told me he had sent some by Cap^t. Fitch. I asked him why he Did not send Em all, he said he had sent all that were to the purpose, viz all that had any mention made in Em of y^e freedom of y^e Negroes, at which I manifested some Dissatisfaction, upon that he said what signified sending those which were made (or Dictated) by M^r. Mather when he had not his Senses. I told him I thought it somewhat strange that he was so well Able out of a Number of Wills & parts of Wills so Exactly to Determin which were Dictated by M^r. Mather when of sound mind & which not, Especially when he had Deposed before Justice Hubbard as I Remembred that tho he was frequently sent for to write Wills for M^r. Mather yet could never find him able to make any Will by reason of his brokenness, till in Aug^t. 1744, to which he Answered that he knew well Enough & then went away from me.

Jared Ingersoll

Colony of Connecticut SS. Hartford March 8th. 1749/50. then personally appeared M^r. Jared Ingersoll the Signer to the above and within written Deposition and made Oath to the truth of the same. Coram Roger Wolcott Dep^t Gov^r

Opened in Super^r. Court at Windham March term 1749/50
per Jn^o. Bulkley one of the Judges

APPRENTICESHIP OF LUCRETIA SMITH.

This indenture* made between Ruth Smith of New Haven Town & County of the one part, and Jared Ingersoll of s^d New Haven of y^e other part Witnesseth, that y^e said Ruth Smith for

* As town certificates of apprenticeship are rarely to be found in print, it has seemed best to include here both of the documents that relate to the binding out of Lucretia Smith to Jared Ingersoll in 1745 and 1746. Seybolt in his essay on apprenticeship in colonial New England and New York gives no indentures for Connecticut of date later than 1727, and does not follow the colony law farther than the revision of 1702. It is interesting to note that the law was in force as late as 1821. The form of the Ingersoll indenture shows that the customary phraseology, borrowed from England, had

y^e Consideration of y^e Covenants and things to be performed by the s^d Jared Ingersol herein after Express'd, hath put and bound in Service, and by these presents Doth put and bind in Service unto the s^d. Jared Ingersol, her Daughter Lucretia of y^e Age of Eight Years the 29th Day of May 1745 from y^e Date of these presents until the said Lucretia shall arrive att y^e Age of Sixteen Years, provided a meet person will att that Age take and teach y^e s^d Lucretia y^e Art and trade of Woman tayloring, if not to be Dismiss'd att y^e Age of fifteen Years. During which term the s^d Lucretia, the said Jared Ingersol faithfully shall Serve, his Just & Lawfull Commands always obey and Do.

And y^e said Jared Ingersol Doth for himself his Heirs, Ex^{rs}., Adm^{rs}. and Assigns Covenant and agree to & with y^e said Ruth Smith her Ex^{rs}., Adm^{rs}. and Assigns that during said term he shall and will procure & provide for s^d. Lucretia sufficient meat, Drink, washing, Lodging & Apparel and also Learn her to Read English and Dismiss her att y^e End of said term with Cloathing sufficient and proper to go an apprentice to Learn tayloring. In Witness whereof y^e Parties hereunto, have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and Seals this 20th Day of May A. D. 1745.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered
in presence of
Abiel Hall
Elizabeth Whiting

her
Ruth X Smith
mark

To all people to whom these presents shall Come Greeting—

Whereas in & by one Statute Law of this Colony in page 95, 96. &c of this Colony Law Book, among other things it is Enacted: "if there shall be any family that Cannot or do not provide Competently for their Children whereby they are Exposed to want & Extremity, it Shall & may be Lawful for the

become greatly simplified by this time. An earlier Connecticut indenture, binding out a girl to service in 1691, which is preserved in the State Archives (State Library, Private Controversies, IV, No. 123), is much more elaborate.

Selectmen & Overseers of the poor in Each Town, & they are hereby ordered & impowered with the Assent of the next Magistrate or Justice of the peace to bind any poor children belonging to such Town to be Apprentices where they shall See Convenient, a man Child until he shall Come to the age of twenty one years and a woman Child to y^e age of Eighteen Years or time of marriage; which shall be as Effectual to all intents & purposes as if any such Child were of full Age & by Indenture of Covenant had bound him or herself," as by s^d. Statute may appear: and Whereas William Smith a transient person late of New Haven in the County of New Haven & Colony of Connecticut & Ruth Smith his Wife of said New Haven Do not, nor doth Either of them take any Care of, nor provide Competently for their Children being in said New Haven, whereby they are Exposed to want & Extremity, one of which Children is Lucretia a minor woman Child of the Age of about Eight Years & 9 months.

Now Know Ye that Jonth: Mansfield, Sam^l: Mix, Eben^r: Beecher, James Peck Sen^r., Jos^h: Pierpoint & Sam^l: Thomson, being Select men & overseers of the poor for the time being of said Town of New Haven, Do by these presents by & with y^e. Assent of y^e Civil Authority in s^d. Town Assign & Bind in Service the said Lucretia unto Jared Ingersol of s^d. New Haven, his Ex^{rs}. & Adm^{rs}., him the said Jared Ingersol faithfully to Serve, his Just & Lawfull Commands to perform & do until the said Lucretia shall arrive at y^e Age of Eighteen Years; And the said Jared Ingersol Doth for himself, his heirs, Ex^{rs}. & Adm^{rs}. Covenant & Agree to & with the said Select men & their Successors in said Office that during said term he shall & will at his own proper Cost & Charge find & Procure for said Lucretia proper & Sufficient meat, Drink, Cloathing, washing, Lodging & all necessities and Save the said Town free & harmless from all Cost & Charge that may happen or acerne on said Lucretias Account, and also Learn her to read English and Instruct her in the Art of Sewing, Knitting, Spinning & household work and at the End of said term Dismiss her from his Service with two Gowns and other proper Cloathing, the one fit & proper for

Sabbath Days & the other for week Days wear, & give her a Bible. In witness whereof the parties above have hereunto Interchangeably Set their hands & Seals in New Haven this 3^d. Day of March A D. 1745/6

Jon th . Mansfield [S]	James Peck [S]	} Select men of New Haven
Sam ^l . Mix [S]	Joseph Pierpont [S]	
Eben ^r . Beecher [S]	Samuel Thomson [S]	

Sign^d, Seal^d & Deliv^d in presence off

Abraham Bradley Caleb Hitchcock

Done by & with the Consent & Advice of us y^e. Subscribers being of y^e Civil Authority within the Town of New Haven within mentioned: As witness our hands y^e. Date within.

Jos^h. Whiting Assistant
John Hubbard Just. of Peace

BOOK OF EXPENCES, BEGUN JANUARY: 1: 1746

		£	s	d
Jan ^y	3 Cash pd. Joel Munson for flour	1.	10.	9
	7 Cash to Zurl. Kimberly for pr. Shoes for } Lucretia }	0.	10.	0
	to Mr. Whittlesey* for tobacco	0.	3.	0
	to Mr. Whittlesey for rum &c	0.	9.	0
	to Mr Brown for wine	0.	5.	8
	to Doctr. Hubbard† for Cinnamon.	0.	3.	0
	9 to Isaac Johnson for fowls	0.	6.	8
	paid to Mr. Howell in writs on Book Acco. } for Cloathing &c }	0.	9.	0
	pd Mr Cook‡ in writs, ut Supr.	0.	9.	0

* Chauncey Whittlesey (born 1717, died 1787) had graduated at Yale in 1738 and studied theology; but in 1745 entered into an extensive business in New Haven as an importer, marrying in the same year a sister of Mrs. Ingersoll. Later he retired from business, and from 1758 to his death was the pastor of the First Church in this city.

† Dr. Leverett Hubbard (Yale 1744) had just begun practice as a physician in New Haven.

‡ Samuel Cooke, Junior (Yale Coll. 1730), a merchant and tavern-keeper in New Haven.

11 to Step ⁿ . Howell Deed Book Acc ^o .	0. 3. 0
to Bill Sale part Mr. Whitt. Do.	0. 0. 5
13 to Ab ^l . Wood for wood, in writ &c & Cash	0.12. 0
to Doctr. Wood for Cloaths Basket	0. 3. 6
14 to Mr. Hall* for wood	0.12. 0
to Kimberly for Shoes in pt.	0. 2. 0
15 to Nath ⁿ . Smith for pig rye	0.13. 6
18 to Mr. Whittlesey for rum	0.19. 0
20 to Jos. Humaston for wood	0.10. 0
23 to Sackets for Soap	0. 2. 0
to Still house for rum	0. 7. 0
to Woods wife for washing	0. 4. 0
25 to Mr. Platt† for Beef 16¾ @ 9 ^d	0.12. 6
to Mr. Whittlesey for hog fat	0. 3. 0
to Mr. Cook for dinner &c	0. 3. 6
27 to Mr. Whittlesey for Sugar &c	0.12. 6
to Woodin for wood	0.13. 6
28 to Mrs. Hall Borrowed before	0. 0. 6
29 to Doctr. Hubb ^d . for Elixir.	0. 4. 9
31 to Mr. Whittlesey for 6 y ^d . Chints	9. 6. 0
to Do. for fowl & Eggs	0. 3. 2
tot.	20.13.11
Feby. 2 to Contribution‡	0. 1. 8
3 to Widow Barns for Rye	0.14. 7
pd. David Austin on Book Acc ^o . by plead. Jan ^y . Court &c	1. 2. 0
5 to Mrs. Howell for Soap	0. 4. 0
to Joel Baldwin for tea	0. 7. 6
7 to Mr. Whittlesey for Eggs	0. 2. 0
8 to Mr. Hall for House rent	4. 0. 0
to Mrs. Hall for Eggs	0. 0. 6
to Jos. Humaston for Wood	0.16. 0
to romp money	0. 0. 9
11 to Brown for Liquor	0. 2. 6
12 to Mr. Whittlesey 2 ^{lb} . tobacco	0. 2. 6
15 to Do. for ½ ^{lb} tea	1. 8. 0

* John Hall, who lived on State Street, opposite Mrs. Ingersoll's father. Mr. Ingersoll now lived in a hired house, belonging to Mr. Hall. In 1747 he bought a house and land in the rear of property facing on Church Street, near the center of the space between Center and Chapel Streets. In 1755 and 1757 he bought adjoining land to the west and north, and built, in 1755-58, on Chapel Street the nucleus of the house still standing (on the west side of Temple Street, as laid out in 1784), in which he died.

† Samuel Platt, of Milford.

‡ The regular Contribution collected during the church service on the first Sunday of each month.

17	to Nathl. Brown for Liqr &c.	0. 3. 6
18	to Tim ^o . Brown on Book Acc ^o .	0. 3. 0
	to Mr. Barker for 23 lb $\frac{3}{4}$ beef @ 9 ^d	0.17.10
	to Mr. Whittelsey for paper	0. 7. 0
20	to Thos. Howell mend. gloves	0. 5. 6
	to Romp money	0. 0. 8
	to Mr. Hall for wood	0.12. 0
21	to Pecks Expences &c	0. 1. 6
	to Jehiel Thomas on Book Acc ^o .	0. 5. 0
22	to Cash pd. Th. Howl. on Book Acc ^o .	3.10. 0
	to Still-house for rum	0. 7. 6
24	to Mr. Howell mending breeches	0. 1. 3
	to David Jacobs for 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb butter.	0.10. 4
27	to Atwr. on Book Acc ^o .	0. 1. 6
		16. 8. 8
March 1	to Mr. Hall for wood	0.12. 0
3	to Contribution money	0. 1. 4
4	to James Pain Jur. for wood	0.10. 0
5	to romp money	0. 0. 9
	to Camp for Oysters	0. 2. 6
	to Mr. Whittelsey for Maslin &c	1. 5. 0
7	to Mr. Jones for Starch	0. 2. 7
	to Mr. Howell for rum	1. 0. 0
	to Mrs. Allin for holland	1.10. 0
	to Mr. Whittelsey for ribbon	0.12. 0
	to Do. Bag holland	
	to Do. for fowl	0. 2. 0
8	to Abr ^m . Cooper for Veal	0.14. 0
10	for Indian meal &c	0.16. 0
	to Mrs. W. for Sundris	0. 5. 8
11	to Mrs. Trowbridge for Soap	0. 3. 5
	to Mr. Whittelsey for Eggs	0. 2. 0
13	to Mrs. Howell for fatt	0. 3. 9
	to Benj ⁿ . Warner for Wood	0.12. 6
14	pd Steph ⁿ . Howell on Book Acc ^o .	0. 6. 0
	to Mr. Whittelsey for butter	1.10. 0
15	to Jo. for Shaving & fowls	0. 3. 1
17	to Mr. Pierpoint for lings	0. 5. 0
	to Capt. Sears for tea 45/	2. 5. 0
	to John Thomson on Book	0.10. 6
18	to Tim ^o . Howell for Quils	0. 0. 2
19	to Clerk Hotchkis* for my rate	0.10. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	to Do. fathers rate	0. 2. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	pd Atwr & Jn ^o Thomson on Book Acc ^o .	0. 2. 0

* Caleb Hotchkiss, Collector of the rate for the First Church; Father in the next line is used for Father-in-law.

	to Mr. Frost for fennil Seed	0. 0. 9
21	to Mr. Howell for rice	0. 2. 7
	to Buttler* for Beer	0. 4. 0
	to Mr. Hall for quils	0. 0. 4
23	to Mr. Cooke for wine	0.11. 0
	to Mrs. Hall for Eggs	0. 0. 9
25	to Mr. Whittelsey for pap ^r & Nails	0.10. 6
	to Mr. Platt on Book Acc ^o .	0. 1.10
	to Mr. Whittelsey for fowls & Eggs	0. 3. 6
	to Mrs. W. for Corn	0. 4. 6
26	to Mr. Cooke for wine	0. 9. 0
28	to Doctr. Mix† for Sal amoni &c	0. 3. 0
	to Jn ^o Bracket for Cord Wood	1.18. 0
	to Mrs. W. for pork &c	0. 4. 3
29	to Mrs. Pomroy‡ for Earthen	0. 2. 0
30	to Buttler for Matheglin	0.16. 0
	to Jn ^o . Andrew for tobacco	0.15. 0
	to Mr. Whittelsey for Eggs	0. 0. 9
		£20.18. 4
April 2	to Jos: Humaston for wood	0.12. 0
	to Nath ^l : Brown for pipes	0. 0. 6
	to Mr. Bishop for fathers rate	0. 5. 6
5	to Mr: Pomroy for Eggs	0. 1. 6
	to Eliph ^t . Beecher for Saddle &c in part	10. 0. 0
	to W ^m . Lyon for Stirup	0. 9. 0
	to Do. on Book Acc ^o .	0. 0. 6
	to Mrs. Howell for fatt	0. 2. 0
	to romp money	0. 0. 9
	to Doctr. Hubb ^d . on Book Acc ^o .	2. 6. 6
	to Steph Howell for Book Articles	0. 3. 0
8	to Mr. Whittelsey for plad & Shirt Cloath &c	16. 0. 0
	to Mrs. Howell for fatt &c	0. 4. 0
10	to Caleb Thomas wife for Washing	0. 5. 0
11	to Mr. Whittelsey for Biscake§ &c	0. 2. 1
12	to Step ^m . Howell for q ^t . rum	0. 5. 0
14	to fisherman for fish	0. 2. 7½
	to Mrs. Hall for Oats	0. 1. 6
	to Expences fairfield ferriage ¼	}
	2 Days Living Capt Burrs 15/5	
	Shaving 1/ Wilton tavern 2/	
	to Mr. Cogshall for 1 ^{lb} powdr.	0.14. 0

* The Butler was an officer of the College who supplied the Faculty and Students with soft drinks and other refreshments.

† Timothy Mix (Yale 1731), a New Haven physician.

‡ Mary, widow of Joseph Pomeroy.

§ = biscuit.

	to Eliphet Beecher for Saddle part	1. 2. 0
	to Doct ^r . Herpin for Hungary*	0. 4. 0
	to Mrs W. for ½ bush ^l . Corn	0. 5. 0
22	to Enos Tuttle for Veal	0. 8. 4
	to Jo: Miles for Clams	0. 2. 6
	to for pig	0. 7. 0
	to Step ⁿ . Howell on Book Acc ^o .	0. 1.11
25	to Mr. Bradly for flower &c.	1. 0. 5
	to Mr. Whittelsey for toe Cloth	1.11. 0
30	to Id. for ½ Quart ^r € Sugar	1.12. 0
	to Jo for fowls, Eggs &c part	0. 2. 0
		£37.10. 3½
May	1 to Jn ^o Lewis for Quils	0. 0. 6
	to Mr. Whittelsey on Book Acc ^o for rum &c	0.18. 0
	to Do. for Sug ^r . part.	0. 3. 0
	2 to Mr. Walter for hops	0. 3. 0
	2 to Mr. Whittelsey for holland	7.10. 0
	5 to Charity &c.	0. 4. 0
	to Nancy for Washing	0. 5. 0
	to Mr. Whittelsey for fowls & butter	0. 7. 2
	6 to Israel Smith for lead	0. 4. 0
	to Jo. for fowls &c	0. 3. 0
	to Mrs. Eliot for Eggs	0. 2. 0
	7 to Sent by Abr ^m Thompson to York for tea.	
	Recd. of Sears 1 ^{lb}	3. 0. 0
	to charity	0. 2. 0
	8 to Mrs. Lyon for Matheglin	0. 8. 0
	10 to Mrs. Toles for fowls	0. 4. 0
	12 to Mr. Hall for house rent	3.14. 0
	13 to Mr. Howell for Soap	0. 4. 0
	14 to Jo: for Eggs &c	0. 2. 0
	15 to Mrs. Pomroy for Cartouch Box & flints	0. 7. 0
	17 to Mrs. Howell for Soap	0. 4. 0
	21 to Mr. Whittelsey for butter	0. 5. 0
	22 to Capt. White for tea ½ ^{lb}	1.10. 0
	to Mrs. Toles for butter	0. 8. 9
	to Mrs. Thomas for Eggs	0. 1. 0
	23 to Joel Munson for flower	2. 8. 3
	24 to Mrs. Sacket for beans	0. 2. 0
	to Mr. Howell for thread	0. 1. 0
	26 to Lazarus Ives for 29½ pork	1. 9. 9
	28 to Mr Eliot 2 Qu ^{ts} rum part	0. 5. 3
	30 to Jn ^o . Row for Veal	0. 9. 0
	to Mrs. Toles for butter	0. 7. 6

* Dr. John Herpin and his son Dr. John Herpin, Junior (Yale 1741) practiced medicine in Milford. Hungary water was distilled from rosemary flowers infused in spirit of wine.

	31 to Mr. Whittelsey for Check ^d Cotton part	0. 2. 6
	to Id. for Wafers	0. 0. 6
		£25. 15. 2
June	2 to Mrs. W. for beef &c	0. 3. 6
	to Thos. Howell for making and finding Cloathing &c	} 5. 0. 0
	3 to Jo for Eggs	
	to for Sand	0. 5. 0
	to Tim ^o . Brown on book Acc ^o . for ax, hoes &c	0. 15. 0
	to D: Punderson for buttons part	0. 6. 0
	4 to Sister Alling* for Veal	0. 3. 9
	5 to Sand Merchant for Sand 1½ bu	0. 3. 0
	6 to Jon th . Atwater for lime on Book	0. 2. 8
	to Nancy for washing	0. 5. 0
	to Expences at Cookes, for wine	0. 4. 0
	to Jn ^o . Row for mutton	0. 3. 0
	10 to Eliph ^t . Becher for saddle &c in part	2. 0. 0
	to Rog ^r . Alling for butter	0. 15. 2
	to Gid: Todd for load wood	0. 16. 0
	to Mr. Whittelsey for loaf Sug ^r .	0. 12. 0
	to D: Pund: for Buttons	0. 10. 0
	to Mr. Hall for hooping tubb	0. 2. 8
	11 to Tim ^o . Brown on Book for hoe &c	0. 3. 0
	12 to Mr. Eliot for 2 Q ^{ts} . rum	0. 9. 0
	at Browns wine	0. 3. 6
	to Tim ^o . Brown on Book for hoes &c	0. 3. 0
	16 to Mrs. W. on Book for Corn &c	0. 8. 0
	18 to Jn ^o . Miles for table in part	1. 12. 0
	19 Browns for wine &c	0. 6. 0
	20 to Squaw for Basket	0. 1. 0
	21 to Jos. Miles mending Shoes	0. 0. 9
	to Mrs. W. for Veal 12 ^{lb} . @ 8 ^d	0. 8. 0
	to Stacy† for Whitewashing	0. 11. 9
	to Mr. Whittelsey for Veal &c	0. 14. 3
	23 to Jn ^o . Miles for table	5. 0. 0
	to Brown for wine	0. 3. 0
	24 to Joel Munson for brawn	0. 7. 0
	26 to Still house for 1 Gall: molasses	0. 14. 0
	to Mr. Whittelsey for 1 Gall: rum	0. 18. 0
	28 to Gorge for fish	0. 0. 4
	to Jon th . Atwater for pipes	0. 2. 6
	to Mrs. Smith for plaister &c	0. 15. 0
	30 to Jos: Miles for pr. Shoes my Wife	0. 18. 0
		£26. 6. 10

* Mary (Whiting), sister of Mrs. Ingersoll and wife of Stephen Alling.

† Joseph Stacy, died 1754.

July	1 to Mrs. Howell for Veal	0. 2. 8
	to Mr. Whittelsey for ribbon	0.12. 0
	2 to Do. for Veal	0. 5. 1
	to Hez: Gorham for tole Bell	0. 3. 0
	4 to Mrs. Hall for Oats	0. 0. 9
	to Beech for peas peek	0. 1. 9
	to Seth Heaton for Do. $\frac{1}{2}$ bush ^l .	0. 3. 0
	5 to Abr ^m . Thomson for 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^{lb} . beef	0.13. 0
	7 for book Doctr. Johnsons*	0. 5. 0
	8 to John Lewis for Clams	0. 3. 0
	to for butter, 4 ^{lb}	0. 8. 0
	9 Mr. Whittelsey for pr. Stockins	2.18. 3
	to Mrs. W. for Corn on book	0. 5. 0
	10 to Mr. Green for blanks	3.15. 3
	to Dan ^l . Smith for Veal 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{lb}	0. 8. 6
	11 to Seth Heaton for peas	0. 3. 0
	12 to Charity	0. 0. 6
	14 to Pomp for pipe &c	0. 0. 6
	15 to Jos: Miles mending Shoe	0. 1. 0
	to Mr. Howell for tape	0. 2. 0
	17 to Abr ^m . Thomson for beef 8 ^{lb}	0. 6. 0
	19 to Mrs. Pomroy for Indigo &c	0. 1.11
	to Sarah W. for	0. 1. 6
	to Capt. White for $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{lb} tea	1.14. 0
	23 to Mr. Diodate for Newspapers	0. 4. 0
	25 to Lazarus Ives for Veal	0.12. 3
	to Mrs. Allen for Shirt buttons in part	0. 1. 6
	28 to Mr. Whittelsey for butter	0. 4. 0
	to Id. for $\frac{1}{4}$ y ^d Cambrick	1. 4. 0
	to Mr. Diodate for hogs fat	0. 3. 4
	to Mr. Whittelsey on book Acc ^o .	0. 0. 8
	29 to Stephen Howell for rum	0.11. 0
	to Noah Wolcot for load wood	0.15. 6
	30 to Mrs. W: Indian meal	0. 1. 3
		£16.12. 2

August

1 & 7	Expences in a Journey to Ridgefield	0.17. 7
8	to Mr. Whittelsey for fish & butter	0. 8. 0
11	to Thos. Howell for pap ^r .	0. 2. 6
	to Abr ^m . Thomson for beef 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{lb} @ 9 ^d	0. 5. 9
12	to Mr. Hall for house rent	3.12. 0
	to W ^m . Lyon for gimblets 3	0. 3. 6
	to Abner bradly for Cyder	0. 2. 0

* *Ethices Elementa. Or the First Principles of Moral Philosophy.* By Aristocles. Boston, 1746. This book was well known to be written by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson (Vale 1714), of Stratford.

13 to Thos. Howell for paper	0. 7. 0
to Mrs. W. for Corn	0. 2. 6
to Mr. Whittelsey for Cloth, linnen &c	0.17.10
14 to Abm. Thomson for beef	0.10. 6
to Jehiel Thomas Admr* Shoes &c	2. 6. 0
to sd. Admr. on sd. Acco.	1. 2. 0
15 to Mrs. W. for Corn &c on book acco.	0. 4. 0
16 to Abner Bradly for Cyder	0. 2. 0
to Lad for Quils	0. 0. 6
18 to Wm. Lyon for paper	0. 2. 0
19 to Mr. Whittelsey for rum	1. 0. 0
20 to Browns for wine	0. 3. 6
to Thomson for beef 26lb @ Sd	0.17. 4
22 to Mr. Noyes† for Sider	0. 3. 6
to Mr. Whittelsey for handkerchfs	2. 5. 0
23 to Wm. Lyon for paper	0. 0. 8
26 to Lyon for Ink horn	0. 1. 6
to Jo: Miles mending Wifes Shoes	0. 2. 0
to Mr Noyes for Sider	0. 3. 0
27 to Mr. Whittelsey for butter	0. 9. 0
to Browns Expences wine	0. 3. 0
29 to Browns for Wine	0. 7. 0
to Mr. Noyes for Sider	0. 3. 0
to Mrs. Pomroy for Soap	0. 5. 0

£17. 2. 8

Septembr.

1 to Amos Pirkins for Veal	0. 4. 9
2 to Benja. Morris for fowls	0. 4. 0
to Danl. Woodin for Wood	0.17. 6
to Jethro for Oysters	0. 5. 0
3 to Mr. Noyes for Sider	0. 3. 0
to Thos. Ives for BB‡ Sider	0.16. 0
6 to Mr. Diodate for psalm book	0. 8. 6
8 to Mr. Noyes for Sider	0. 3. 0
9 to Stephen Howel for rum 2 Quts.	0.11. 0
to Mr. Whittelsey for pepper	0. 5. 7
10 to Lazarus Ives for pig Quartr.	0. 7. 6
11 to Mr. Whittelsey for 4 5 ^{ds} holland	5.15. 0
to Do. for 11lb: 6oz. butter @ 2/3	1. 5. 7
12 to Lazs. Ives for Mutton	0. 6. 0
15 to Jno. Hall for Oysters	0. 4. 0
to Mr. Whittelsey for ½ peck Salt	0. 3. 9

* Jehiel Thomas died in April, 1746, and his widow, Mary (Miles) had been appointed his Administratrix.

† Rev. Joseph Noyes (Yale 1709), Mr. Ingersoll's pastor.

‡ Barrels.

16 to Mr. Whittelsey for paper	0. 7. 0
to Abr ^m . Thomson for beef	0. 5. 9
18 to Mr. Whittelsey for thread & fowls	0. 8. 0
to James Thomson for hooping	0. 7. 0
to Caleb Atwater for wood	0.17. 0
23 to Laz ^s . Ives for Veal	0. 9. 4
to Mr. Whittelsey for Rye 2 bushels	1. 0. 0
to Mrs. Pomroy for Mug & Nutmeg	0. 8. 0
24 to Jo: for Eggs	0. 1. 6
26 to Stephen Howell for 2 Qts. rum	0.12. 0
to Jos. Miles for pr. Shoes for my Wife	1. 0. 0
29 to Mr. Gibb* for ½ ^{lb} tea	2. 5. 0
30 to Jon th . Atwater on Book for ½ bush ^l . Oysters	0. 1. 9
to James Peek for hoe handle	0. 1. 6
to Steph ⁿ . Howell on Book Acc ^o . for } checks, rum &c }	0. 6. 0
to Mr. Whittelsey for quaity binding	0. 3. 6
	£20.13. 6
Octobr. 3 to Eliphelet Beechr. for beef	0. 6. 2
to James Thomson on book Acc ^o for } hooping &c }	0. 8. 6
4 to Thomas Howell for buttons	0. 2. 0
to Mrs. W. on Book for Ind: meal &c	0. 8. 0
5 to Contribution	0. 1. 0
6 to Widow Bradly for 3 bb ^l Cyder	2.17. 0
to Williams for mutton	0.11.10
to Susa: Prout† for loaf Sugar	0.15. 0
8 to Step ⁿ . Howell on book Acc ^o .	0. 3. 0
to Thom ^s . Howell for tayloring, Cloathing &c	7. 0. 0
to Do. for Cloathing, tayloring &c	4. 6. 5
9 to Capt Allin‡ for 1 Gall. rum	1. 0. 0
to Jos. Miles for Soleing Lueretias shoes 3/9 } —9 ^d Due }	0. 3. 9
10 to Joel Munson for 131 ^{lb} flower. 5 ^d	2.14. 7
to Mr. Whittelsey for 3 fowls @ 2/	0. 6. 0
11 to Mrs. W. for Corn	0.10. 0
to Do. for Indin meal &c	0. 7. 0
to Laz ^s . Ives for pig	0.15. 6
14 to D. Punderson on Book for Cheese	0. 7.10½
to Do. for handkeret	0.11. 0

* Probably Thomas Gibb, of Milford.

† Susanna Prout, born April. 1718, daughter of John Prout, Junior (Yale Coll. 1708), married Timothy Bontecou. November. 1747, died October, 1755.

‡ Probably Jonathan Alling.

15 to Benj ⁿ . Wilmot for wood	0.14. 0
to James Thompson for barrel	0.13. 0
16 to Mr. Jones for 1 Doz. pipes	0. 5. 0
18 to Benj ⁿ . Morriss for fowls	0. 6. 8
19 to James Thomson for bbl &e on book	1. 0. 0
21 to Mr. Whittelsey for tow cloth	0.12. 0
to D ^o . for ribbon 8/ for Wine &e 2/	0.10. 0
22 to Capt. Allin for 1 Gall. molass.	0.14. 0
23 to W ^m . Lyon for Nails	0. 2. 6
to Abr ^m . Thomson for beef	0. 7. 6
24 to R. Baldwin for 4 ^{bbl} & 1/6 Sider	3. 9. 0
25 to Jos: Miles for Soleing & mending my Shoes	{ 0.10. 6
10/ & for Soleing Cretias in part 6d	
to Jon th . Atwr. for 1/2 bushl. Oysters	
to Stephen Howell for bushl Salt	
to Mr. Whittelsey for 9 y ^{ds} Camblet 28/2,	
1 1/2 y ^{ds} Osnubrigs, 3/4 yd blue Callico,	{ 14. 0. 0
2 fowls, thread & Cheese	
28 to Mrs. W. for Beef 9 3/4 @ 8	0. 6. 6
29 to Mr. Whittelsey for goose	0. 4. 8
2 ^{lb} butter 5/ hops 4/6 Silk 3d	0. 9. 9
31 to Benj ⁿ . Wilmot for bb Sider	0.18. 0
to Mr. Eliot for Rum	1.18. 6
to D ^o . for Sugar	0.13. 9

£53. 1. 5

Novembr.

1 to Samuel Gilbert for boards	0. 1. 0
to Danl. Sanford for 1/2 pig	0. 9. 3
2 to Contribution	0. 1. 3
3 to Jos. Sperry for load wood	1. 0. 0
to Mr. Platt for 151 ^{lb} Beef @ 8d	5. 0. 3
to Mrs. Pomroy for pig, piece of	0. 2. 0
4 to Mr. Bishop for my Rate	1. 1.11 1/3
to D ^o . for fathers rate	0. 6. 1 1/2
6 to Abr ^m . Thompson for 1 Day highway work	0. 6. 0
to Mrs. W. for 3 ^{lb} tobacco @ 1/6	0. 4. 6
9 to Jo: for Cutting wood &e	0. 1. 3
10 to W ^m . Johnson for 2 bushl turnips	0.12. 0
11 to Mr. Whittelsey for 2 Cask	0. 8.10
12 to Mr. Hall for house rent	3. 9. 6
to Leint Baldwin* for load wood	1. 0. 0
14 to Mrs. W. for Corn 1/2 bushl. &c	0. 6. 8
to Mr. Cooke for 2 Dinners	0. 5. 0
15 to Atwater for pig	0. 6. 9
to Jo. for Cutting wood &c	0. 0. 7 1/2

* Barnabas Baldwin, Junior, of New Haven and Milford.

	to Mrs. W. for Corn &c	0. 0. 10
17	to Jonth. Atwater Junr. for Oysters	0. 1. 9
	to Expences at Fairfield for myself & horse	1. 8. 4
	to Wynkoop* for pr. buckles	3. 15. 0
	to Do. for pr. Do. for my Wife	4. 2. 0
	to Do. for making 3 Silver Spoons	2. 5. 0
	to Do. for 3 pwt. Silver	0. 7. 0
	left 47 oz Silver for sd. Spoons	
	gave Ely for sd. Silver	9. 0. 0
	to Mrs. W. for Corn	0. 2. 6
20	to Leah† for Washing pd. in holland & } making up . . Apron }	0. 14. 0
25	to Kimberly for 2 Qts. Matheglin	0. 8. 0
	to for 4 fowls	0. 5. 3
	to Mr. Howell for Corn part bushl.	0. 10. 6
26	to Miss Cable‡ for ¼lb. tea	1. 5. 0
	to Do. for 1oz. Coffee	0. 12. 0
28	to Mr. Whittelsey for Cash paid Mrs. } Hotchkis on my Acco. for fowls }	0. 6. 8
	to Mr. Whittelsey for 9oz butter	0. 1. 4
	to Do. for thread & tape	0. 1. 9
	to Do. ½lb Raisins	0. 2. 0
	to David Punderson for 1½ Checks linnen	1. 9. 0
	to Do. for 1 Doz: basket	0. 4. 0
	to Doctr. Lev. Hubbard for Adhernium &c.	0. 1. 6
29	to Mrs. Thomas for goose	0. 6. 0
	to Mrs. Beechr. Jo. for Eggs	0. 1. 3
		£42. 12. 8

Decembr.

1	to Danl. Thompson for Combing wool	0. 5. 0
	to Mrs. Thompson for Candle	0. 3. 0
3	to Jo. for Cutting wood	0. 3. 3
	to James Peck for scraping Bucks horn	0. 0. 6
	to James Thompson on book for barrel	0. 13. 0
	to Jethro for killing hog	0. 3. 0
5	to Stephen Howell for highways working Qt rum	0. 5. 6
	to Benjn. Todd for 20½lb Mutton tallow @ ½s	1. 14. 2
	to Charity	0. 5. 0
7	to Contribution	0. 1. 0
9	to Benjn. Wilmot for load Wood	0. 15. 0

* Benjamin Wynkoop. of Fairfield.

† Mr. Ingersoll sold Leah. his negro slave, in 1778. to Pompey Punchard. a free negro.

‡ Mrs. Sarah, wife of William Cable, died in August, 1751, aged 40.

10 to Mr. Whittelsey for Eggs	0. 1. 0
to Alling for load wood	0.18. 0
to D. Punderson for fowls	0. 3. 6
to Jo. for fetching home D ^o .	0. 0. 6
11 to Mr. Hays for Qt. Brandy	0. 7. 0
12 to Mr. Eliot for rum	1. 0. 0
to Mr. Howell in full of bush ^l . Corn	0. 0. 6
13 to Mr. Whittelsey for Mutton	0. 7. 6
to D ^o . for D ^o .	0. 0. 6
to M ^{rs} . Rosbothum* for tansey water	0. 2. 0
17 to Mr. Jones for an Almanack	0. 1. 0
to David Punderson biscake	0. 4. 0
18 to Mr. Whittelsey on Book for one Partridge	0. 1. 9
to D ^o . for Quire paper	0. 7. 0
to Jon th . Allen for load wood	1. 6. 0
19 to Miss Pomroy for Gall: rum	1. 0. 0
21 to Miss W: for Indian meal	0. 1. 6
24 to Mr. Whittelsey for handkerf	0.11. 0
25 to Sam ^l . Beecher for 19½ ^{lb} . butter	2. 9. 0
to Mr. Whittelsey for handkerfs	1. 5. 0
to D ^o . for fowls 3/9 for pipes 5/	0. 8. 9
26 to Step ⁿ . Howell on book for rum &c	0. 3. 0
29 to Wait Chatterton† for 60 ^{lb} . flower	1. 7. 6
to Mr. Whittelsey for fowl	0. 1. 9
to Doct ^r . Hubb ^d . for physick &c	4. 0. 0
31 to David Punderson on Book for Bisket	0. 3. 0
to M ^{rs} . W. for pork	0. 2. 9
	21. 1.11

SUM TOTAL of Expences in the foregoing year 1746 £319..17.. 6

PARTICULARS

Victuals, Including tea‡ drank as well afternoon as in ye morning }	76.. 0.. 9
Drink for Victuals. viz Sider & Beer	10.. 0.. 0
Strong Liquors. viz Rum, Wine, Matheglin &c	20.. 0.. 0
Wood	15..17.. 0
Saddle, bridle, Baggs &c	13.. 0.. 0
Laid out in Silver	19.. 9.. 0
A table	5.. 0.. 0
house-rent	15.. 0.. 0

* Sarah, daughter of Gershom Brown, and wife of Benjamin Rosbotham. born March. 1699.

† Of Mount Carmel.

‡ The amount expended for tea during the year was £13.14.6; and the price per pound. so far as given, varied from £3. to £5.

Cloathing	100.. 0..03
Doctering	5.. 4.. 9
tobacco	1..10.. 0
pipes •	0..13.. 6
Candles	2..10.. 0
	284.. 5.. 3

Remains £35..12..3. for paper, washing, Charity, powder, Lead, Casks, Gimblets, Cutting wood, boards, books & a thousand other Incidental things.

LETTER OF WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

Sir

I find by your Letter of the 10th Instant & the account therewith, that there is still in your hands a Ballance of £10.2.0 old Tenor in my favour on Acc^t of the Philosophic Solitude. I am at a Loss how to make you Satisfaction for the trouble you have been pleased to take in that affair, especially since I find that you have not so much as Charged the usual Commissions (which in a Gentleman of your Profession I must look upon as a most sublime pitch of self-denial &) which I should have been exceeding willing, & am still willing, to allow you. But if you are still resolved not to accept them (and indeed they would be but a very inadequate Recompence for your Trouble) I can only say, that if it should ever be in my power to serve you, I shall not fail to embrace the welcome Opportunity of testifying my gratitude. And as to the said £10.2.0, I having no occasion for your unfortunate Currency,* you would still add to the

* As the currency of Connecticut is frequently referred to in these papers, a brief explanation will be of service.

Old tenor was the term used for all Connecticut paper money of the issues to 1740, still outstanding in 1744, including possibly some bills of 1746 printed from the old plates. *New tenor* consisted of the bills of 1744 and years following. Little reckoning was done in *new tenor*, calculations being made in *old tenor* at the rate of three and a half *old tenor* to one *new tenor*. In comparison with the normal value of paper, that is, six shillings to a silver Spanish dollar or six shillings eight pence to an ounce of silver, which was also the rate at which foreign silver coins were made current by the Proclamation of 1704 and so known as *proclamation money*, the depreciation of *old tenor* in 1748 was about six to one. In comparison

Obligations you have already laid me under, if you would be pleased to lay it out in the following Works of Dr. Watts (which I doubt not you'll find in Daddy Diodates* Shop, & I trust Mr. Whittelsey your Brother will take the Trouble to Convey to my hands) viz: His Treatise on the Passions, Philosophical Essays, Strength & Weakness of human reason & Reliquiae Juveniles, or as many of them as the said Sum will purchase.

I am, Sir (with my best Respects to you & Mrs. Ingersoll)

Your most humble Servt

Wil^m. Livingston.†

N: York Oct^r 25, 1748

with *sterling*, in which four shillings and six pence were equal to a Spanish dollar, the depreciation was a third more, or eight to one.

There was a difference of opinion at the time as to the meaning of *lawful money*. Manifestly it was any medium made legal by law, but whether by the law of England or the law of the colony was not so clear. Some held that *lawful money* was silver, either the silver shillings, six-pences, and threepences coined in Massachusetts, 1652-1684, and still in circulation, or the foreign silver made current at the same rate by the Proclamation of 1704 and the Coinage Act of 1708. Others, constituting probably a majority of the people of New England, held that *lawful money* was paper money, which at par equated with both Massachusetts silver and *proclamation money*, a six shilling paper bill when first issued, six Massachusetts pine-tree shillings, and a Spanish dollar all being of the same value. In the Dering vs Packer case (below, p. 239), the Privy Council decided in favor of silver, either Massachusetts silver or *proclamation money*, but Ingersoll was undoubtedly right when he said that this decision was not in accord with the "understanding of the people" of New England.

* William Diodate, a native of London (who settled in New Haven in 1717, married in 1721, and died in 1751), kept a general store on State Street, at the southwest corner of the present junction with Court Street.

† The writer (born 1723, died 1790) was graduated at Yale in 1741, and was now gaining distinction at the New York bar. In his later years he removed to New Jersey, where he served in Congress and became the first Governor of the State.

In 1747 he published anonymously in New York *Philosophic Solitude: or the choice of a Rural Life. A Poem. By a Gentleman educated at Yale College*. A subscription-paper in Mr. Ingersoll's hand for this work (the earliest publication in pure literature by a Yale graduate), which was circulated in the College, and is still preserved in the Yale University Library, is appended to this letter.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR M^r. LIVINGSTON'S POEM*

Prepared for the press & upon proper Encouragement will be Speedily published, A Rural Poem both Instructive & Delightfull, M^r. William Livingston of New York the Author, to be printed on good paper in Quarto, being Somewhat in length more than an Ordinary Sermon, the price of one will be about four or five Shillings old tenor.†

We the Subscribers willing to Encourage the publication thereof Do for that purpose Engage to pay the Undertakers for So many as to our names are annexd.

Jared Ingersoll	2	Eleazar Porter	1
Chauncey Whittelsey	2 pd	Thomas Williams	1
Enos Alling	2 pd	Wm Smith	1
Samuel Fisk	2	John Cuyler	1
Willim. Russel	2 pd.	Naphtali Daggett	1
Sam ^l Fitch	4 pd.	Elijah Lyman	1 paid
Wm Sam ^l . Johnson	2 paid‡	David Baldwin	1
Nath ^l Lloyd	2	Dan ^l . Bennitt	1 pd
Rich ^d Mansfield	2	James Hillhouse	2
Jon th . Colton	2 pd	John Sherman	1
Aaron Day	2	Nehemiah Greenman	2
Wm. Bryant	3	John Colman	2 pd
Lyman Hall	1	Jeremiah Burton	1 pd
Nath ^l . Huntington	1	Matthias Crane	1
Joseph Clark	1	Daniel Hubbard	2
Deliverance Smith	1	John Hotchkiss	1
Oliver Wolcott	2	James Bebee	2
Daniel Shelden	1	Mr. Bastwick, Greenwich	2
Timothy Pitkin	1	Mr. Mather, Middlesex	2
William Cooke	1	Mr. Dibble, Stanford	2
John Benedict	1	Mr. Lamson, Richfield	2
Benjn. Fisk	1	Mr. Woolsey, L. Island	4
Jonathan Elmer	1	John Reynolds	1
John Hubbard	1	Eliphalet Ball	1

* All the subscribers were graduates or undergraduates of Yale. There were then probably from 105 to 110 students in College, and of these, 58 persons subscribed for 83 copies,—20 being Seniors (Class of 1747), 20 Juniors (Class of 1748), 12 Sophomores (Class of 1749), and 6 Freshmen (Class of 1750); Burton, a Senior from Stratford, Sumner from Hebron, and Sherman, Sophomores, and Mitchel, a Freshman from Woodbury, died or left College before graduation.

† That is, about a shilling proclamation money or nine pence sterling.

‡ One of these copies is now in the Yale Library.

Daniel Welch	1	Simeon Mitchel	6
Reynold Marvin	1 ^{pd}	Mitchel Recd 2 & ^{pd} for	
Nathan Starr	1	2 Do. 1 Do.	
John Clark	1	Elihu Tudor	1
David Ripley	1	Izrahiah Wetmore	^{pd} 1
Nymphas Marston	1	John Maltby	3
Elisha Steel	1	Jedediah Mills	1
Peter Buel	2 ^{pd}	Daniel Griswold	1
Samuel Raynolds	2 ^{pd}	Aaron Hutchinson	1
William Sumner	2	Noadiah Warner	2
Nathaniel Bartlet	2	Hobart Mason	1 paid
Austin Munson	2	Sam ^l Seabury	2
James Brown	2 paid	Jamison Johnston	2
Isaac Lyman	1	Isaac Isaacs	2 ^{pd}
		Sam ^l Brown	2

Recd	0..11.. 0	of Mr. Whiting	0.. 5.. 6
	1.. 7.. 6		0.. 5.. 6
	0..11.. 0		1.. 2.. 0
	0..11.. 0		0..11.. 0
of Doctr. Fitch	0.. 5.. 6		0..11.. 0
	0.. 5.. 6		0.. 5.. 6
	0.. 5.. 6		0..11.. 0
	0.. 5.. 6	Recd of Sumner for	} 5..14.. 6
	0..11.. 0	Sundry Sold	
	0.. 5.. 6	of Do.	2.. 0.. 0
	1.. 2.. 0		17..18.. 0
	0..11.. 0	Sept. 11: 1747	
	6..12.. 0	Delivd to Sr Smith*	£7.. 3.. 0
		Bradly for freight	0.. 2.. 0
		. . 1748 postage Letter	0.. 5..10

[Endorsed on back]

Recd. for books	£17..18.. 0	paid out	
		to Bryant	7.. 3.. 0
		freight	0.. 2.. 0
		postage Letter	0.. 5..10
		to Mr. Diodate for books	
	@ 5/6 viz	Accidencies pr order	1..13 : 0
	to Sumner &c for disposing	} of ye pamphlets	0.. 11.. 0

* By Sir Smith is meant William Smith, Junior (Yale 1745), a law-student (with Livingston) in the office of Hon. William Smith, Senior (Yale 1719), of New York City and afterwards Chief Justice and historian of the Province of New York.

LETTER OF WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

New York No^r 28, 1748.M^r Jared Ingersoll

Sir—Mr. Wittlesey tells me that you could not get the books I wrote for; be pleased therefore to lay out the money in Chevers's* excidences & Vocabularies (or Nomenclatures) Latin & English, half for one & half for the other, & send them by the post for as reasonable a price as you can agree. My respects to your Spouse.

I am, Sir, Your very humble Serv^tW^m Livingston.

N.B.—You will be pleased to send them by the next post, I wanting them for my brothers Children, & charge the postage of this Letter to my Acc^t.

BILL OF SALE OF NEGRO BOY.

To all people to whom these presents shall Come Greeting. Know ye that I Stephen Alling of the Town & County of New Haven & Colony of Connecticut, for the Consideration of the Sum of three hundred & twenty pounds old tenor rec^d. to my full satisfaction of Jared Ingersoll of New Haven afores^d., have Sold, set over & Delivered & Do by these presents fully & absolutely Sell, Set over & Deliver unto him the said Jared Ingersoll a Certain Negro Boy, a Slave Called Cambridge aged Eight years or thereabouts, To have & to hold the said Negro Boy unto him the said Jared Ingersoll and to his Executors, Adm^{rs}. and Assigns for Ever. And I the said Stephen Alling Do for my Self my heirs, Ex^{rs}. & Adm^{rs}. Covenant with the Said Jared Ingersoll his Ex^{rs} & Adm^{rs}. that Until the Ensealing of these presents I am Lawfully possessed of the said Negro as of my proper goods & have good right to Sell him in manner as is above written & Do by these presents bind my Self & my heirs.

* Ezekiel Cheever (born in England in 1614, died in Boston in 1708). a noted schoolmaster in New Haven, and in Boston and its vicinity. published a *Latin Accidence* which continued in use for many generations of schoolboys.

Ex^{rs}. and Adm^{rs}. for Ever To Warrant & Defend the s^d. Negro to him the said Jared Ingersoll and to his Ex^{rs}., Adm^{rs}. & Assigns against all Claims & Demands whatsoever. In Witness whereof I have herenunto Set my hand & Seal this 31st. Day of May AD: 1751.

Signed, Sealed & Delivrd.

Stephen Alling [L. s.]

in presence of

Chauncy Whittelsey[¶]

Charles Whittelsey

EPITAPH ON ISAAC STEADY ESQ^R.†

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE AP^L. 8: 1754 BEING PROXY-DAY.‡

Here Lies, Squire Steady, for Religion Ever fam'd
 who ne'er in all his life got drunk, nor Ever gam'd.
 he had the Pious Nack at right godly Devotion
 yet was troubled with an Itch for Worldly Promotion
 of which he long Laboured. Ah! fatal Disease
 while flattering all, Courting all, he all did displease.
 So Equi-poised was his mind 'twixt One thing & another
 he never knew his own mind for two hours together.

* Stephen Alling, Jared Ingersoll, and Chauncy Whittelsey had married sisters, the daughters of Colonel Joseph Whiting, of New Haven.

† These verses, in Mr. Ingersoll's hand, are unsigned, but the erasures and interlineations betray the author. The subject is Isaac Dickerman, of New Haven, born 1677, died 1758, who on April 8, 1754, was defeated in the nomination of Deputies in the General Assembly of the Colony, of which he had formerly been a member. He served as a Deacon in the First Church from 1727 until his dismission early in 1754 to the Separate or White Haven Church: in which he was a Deacon from April 2, 1754, to his death.

He married, as his second wife, on June 12, 1754, Elizabeth (Alling), widow of John Morris, of East Haven.

A very bitter feeling prevailed at this time between the supporters of the Rev. Joseph Noyes, of the First Church (of whom Mr. Ingersoll was one), and his opponents, some of whom had founded the White Haven Meeting in 1742.

‡ The day of the meeting of freemen in Connecticut towns for nominating Deputies to the General Assembly.

Long did the two houses for Religious Worship prepar'd
 Contend for his presence, which neither wholly shar'd;
 he turn'd, to true blue & turned back & then turn'd again
 & doubtless in all had his godly Ends t' obtain;
 but See fickle fortune! when most She Seems to favour
 Says there's Something Suspicious in his Motly behaviour,
 too good for one Side, not proof'd Lasting good o' the t'other,
 is bid to give way to a more Deserving Brother;
 Ev'n Just as his faith was Declar'd to be right Sound
 between those two Stools, he fell flat to y^e ground
 & falling Died—his worldly Life's no more.
 As to his Stature it was tall & his Age almost four Score,
 but what was worldly life to him who hopes E're long
 to Shine Illustrious Among that pious throng,
 where Join'd to South-End's Rich Widow full of grace &
 true light
 he'll Rise Immortal & Reign as Lasting full & bright
 as does a falling Meteor in a dark Cloudy Night;
 flaming with pious Social Love at Seventy Seven
 Vigorous & Strong—Just like good folks in heaven.

LETTER OF COL. GURDON SALTONSTALL.

New London Nov^r. 3, 1755

Mr. Jared Engersoll

Sr.

I now adress you by my son Winthrop,* & on
 his behalf.

Upon mature Consideration, & advice, he has resolved to
 Study the Law; and as he will stand in absolute need of

* Winthrop Saltonstall, son of Colonel Gurdon Saltonstall (Yale College 1725), and grandson of Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, was graduated at Yale in 1756, and spent his life in his native town of New London, employed in public office.

As a day-book of Mr. Ingersoll shows, young Saltonstall boarded in his family through his Senior year, paying five shillings a week.

advice, & direction, I take the Freedom to ask the favour, of You to admit him into your Family, & under your Patronage; if it be consistent with your Practice as well as agreeable to the Family.

Haveing consider'd Winthrop's Genius, am of Opinion, that there is as much reason to hope, he will make as good proficiency in the Study of the Law, as in any other branch of Literature.

Should you consent to take him, favour me with the Terms on which you'l accept him; which I doubt not will be reasonable, that I may give him such directions as may be necessary, with all convenient speed.

And youl highly Oblige

Y^r. Most Hum^l Serv^t.

G: Saltonstall.

LETTER OF PETER V. B. LIVINGSTON.

N York May 31st. 1756

S^r.

The Corrispondents to the Society in Scotland from [? for] Propigating Christian Knowledge are about buying a tract of Land in New Jersey for the use of the Indians & purpose to settle the Rev^d. M^r. John Brainerd* amongst them as their Minister; their Cash is so low that I can[not] see that they can possibly compleat their design unless they can very speedily get the money which M^r. Brainerd put to interest to Mess^{rs}. Cook, Day & Dyer, whose bonds M^r. Brainerd tells me he has put into your hands. Wherefore I beg the favour of you to let me know how that affair stands by the very first opportunity, what sum you have rec^d. & what you still expect to receive and

* John Brainerd (born 1720. died 1781) was graduated at Yale in 1746; and from 1747 to 1755 was employed by the Edinburgh Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge as his brother David's assistant and successor in the mission to the Delaware Indians in New Jersey.

He then had charge for a year of the Presbyterian Church in Newark. but in June, 1756, resumed his former labors, largely supporting himself from his private means.

when. I beg you will be very perticular, that the Correspondents may know what to depend on & act accordingly.

I am

S^r.

Your most hum^l. Serv^t.

P. V. B. Livingston.*

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

New Haven]

LETTERS OF REV. JOHN BRAINERD.

New York, July 1, 1756

Sir,

I received the Money you left and all is right except that clip't Piece which I took for a double Pistole.† That is a Counterfeit & will by no means Pass. I have left it with M^r. Peter Livingston to send by Cap^t Bradly. I hope M^r. Day knows who he had it of and will be able to return it, to the right owner.

In Hast,

Sir,

Your humb Serv^t

John Brainerd

Newark, Mar. 1, 1758

Sir,

Yours 23^d Jan: came to hand last Evening. I had Just prepared a Line for you, which now you wont have the Trouble

* Peter Van Brugh Livingston, an elder brother of Mr. Ingersoll's intimate friend, William Livingston, was graduated at Yale in 1731, and became a merchant in New York.

† Pistole was a Spanish coin, appearing in a single piece, a double or two-pistole piece, and a four-pistole piece or doubloon. Its value in the colonies varied from 16s. 6d to 22s, but in Virginia it was in common use as the equivalent of an English pound or 20s.

of.—I am not Sorry to hear *you have received the full of my Debt from Yale Bishop*. You will be so good as to send it to M^r. P. V. B. Livingston by the first Safe Opportunity, and Just Signify to him that it belongs to me Personally, otherwise he may keep it in the Treasury and not send me Word.

I am sorry for so many Delays with Respect to the publick Money. But I doubt not you have done your best, and will do your utmost to procure the Remainder for us. The Want of it has been a great Disadvantage. You will please to send what Money you have by you, belonging to the Mission, also to M^r. Livingston.

I hope you take Care of yourself, by the Way, as well as of us. It has been a troublesom Aff^r. all round. I long to have it done with.

In hast.

Sir,

Your humb Serv^t

John Brainerd

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

at New Haven]

LETTER OF JOSEPH GOLDTHWAIT.

At Onida Great Carryin Place,* Aug^t. 14th. 1756

Dear Sir,

Perhaps these Lines may surprise you. But, though I am absent from you have a Regard for my frinds at your Place, & have wrote to many of Them. Therefore take the Freedom of writeing a few Lines to you, & Encloseing one to my Dear Girle who, I hope is Well.

I have not no Particular News to tell you off. Every thing this way Lays Dorment, waiting Lord Lowden† Orders. No

* The site of the present city of Rome, N. Y., where the waters that flow to the Hudson River divide from those that flow to Lake Ontario.

† The Earl of Loudoun arrived in Virginia in July, 1756, as commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America.

Expedition will be Carryed on this way this Year. We are only upon the Defensive; we are fortyfing This Place. I am Posted Here till further Orders. It is Report^d. that our Regiment will be order^d. to Hallifax, but Cant say How True it is, but Wish it may be so.

Hope our Countrymen will do something at Crown Point; wait with Impatience to Hear of their Success which god Grant.

My Compliments to your Lady, Master Jerree, & all Inquireing frinds, or any Body you have a Mind to. Beg yo^l. favor me with a Line, and a News Paper &c. will be Exceptable & am

Dear Sir your most Humble Serv^t.

Joseph Goldthwait*

Jared Ingersole Esq^r.

* The writer of this letter, Joseph Goldthwait, Junior, bought land in New Haven in 1751, but sold out his holdings in 1754. He was born in Boston in 1730, attained the rank of Major in the Old French War, was loyal to the Crown in the Revolution, and died in New York City in 1779.

II. NEW HAVEN AND LONDON, 1758-1764.

In May, 1758, Mr. Ingersoll was appointed as Agent for the Colony of Connecticut at the Court of St. James. He reached London in January, 1759, and after resigning his agency in May, 1760, remained there for over a year longer. Before his return he contracted with the Commissioners of the Navy to send them from America a ship-load of masts, etc.

The following papers relate to his preparations for the voyage to London; his life there; his London landlady's letters after his return; details of the fulfilment of his contract with the Navy Board; and other incidents in his personal history.

LETTER OF REV. JONATHAN INGERSOLL.

New York, June 14, 1758.

D^r. Brother;

I this minit received a Line from you by Mr Darling, and am Sorry I had it not sooner. However, in my last, which I hope you have received, I gave you my Advice respecting your taking y^e Smal Pox by Inoculation;* and y^e more I hear, y^e more I am encouraged. I lodged at Mr Bostwicks y^e Presbyterian Minister of this Place, last night: a man of Sense & Religion, who Strongly advises to it. He is considerably gross, and was inoculated last Summer with all his Family consisting of eight or nine, and, I believe, all together had not so large a Crop as I had, and were scarcely ill enough to keep House. I hope you will be preserved, & should rejoyce to be with you was it

*Inoculation as a preventative of small pox, one of the most dreaded of diseases in the colonies, consisted in the injection of small pox virus from a mild case, in order to induce in the individual a mild form of the disease. Many objections to it were raised in the colonies, partly because of its dangers, and partly because of its interference with the "prerogative" of God. The Assembly of South Carolina forbade its use in 1764. The Suttonian method was that commonly used. The "crop" to which Jonathan Ingersoll refers is evidently of "poek-marks".

possible; but it seems not possible, Consistent with &c &c. I heartily rejoyce in your Prosperity, and so bid you farewell wishing the best of Blessings may rest upon you, and y^t you may be made a rich Blessing to your Country. D^r Sir, dangerous, tempting Scenes you expect will open, watch & pray. Hope we may See each other again in Life; be this as it will, let our highest Concern be to Serve our Generation by y^e will of God, y^t we may die in Peace: and possess Eternal Bliss.

Your Affectionate Brother

Jonth Ingersoll.*

[To

M^r Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

at Brook-Haven

on Long Island

to be left at D^r. Murisons]

LETTER OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

D^r. S^r.

No one among y^r. Friends does more sincerely & heartily than I do, Congratulate y^r. Return Home & recovery from the small Pox. I had great Concern for you on Account of the hot Wheather which happened at the Time I imagined you had the disease upon you: And was sorry you had not before Innoculation been advised of the surprising success of the Jersey Physicians in the use of Mercury & Antimony, as means to correct the virulance of that distemper, & render Innoculation safe for all Ages & Constitutions. But as the Event of the course you took has been so happy, it is now of no consequence. May this first fortunate step be an Omen, of a happy Voyage, & prosperous undertaking throughout.

* Jonathan Ingersoll, born 1714, the eldest brother of Jared Ingersoll, was graduated at Yale in 1736.

He was settled as pastor of the Congregational Church in Ridgefield, Connecticut, in 1739: and served in that office until his death in 1778. His eldest son was graduated at Yale in 1766, and became a distinguished lawyer in New Haven and Lieutenant Governor of the State.

I shall be glad to know whether we shall have the Pleasure to see you at Litchfield, or whether you conclude not to attend this Circuit.

I am with true Regard

Dr. Sr. Y^r. Friend & humble Serv^t.

Wm. Sam^l. Johnson*

Stratford, Aug. 2, 1758.

Jared Ingersoll, Esq: New Haven.

LETTER OF DR. GEORGE MUIRSON.

Good Sir

I Rec^d Your Kind letter of the 30th July Informing me of the surrender of Louisbourg; tho' the Account proved premature I made no doubt but that it would be so soon, If it was not so then, from the Constant; heavy; and Almost perpetual fire with w^{ch}. we ply'd them.

(I had also great Confidence from the known Ability and Integrity of two of the principle Commanders, one I had the honour and pleasure of being Acquainted with.)

It is So now. I give you Joy thereof and Wish it to Every Englishman.

Had we Succeeded to the Northward in that one battle only, In My Opinion this part of the World Would have bin our own Soon. I most firmly beleive God In his good time Will Deliver us from Slaughter and put the North as Well as East in our hands. I would have a Small Matter of humain Means Made Use off, for great ones dont Avail us to the Northward, w^{ch} I am both Sorry for, and Ashamed off.

I hope M^{rs} Ingersall is well and happly freed from the Secret

* William Samuel Johnson, born 1727, died 1819, was graduated at Yale in 1744. and became a lawyer in Stratford.

In common with a large number of other leading citizens of Western Connecticut, Dr. Johnson refrained from active participation in the events which preceded and accompanied the American Revolution; but when the struggle was decided, he accepted the result cordially, and took an important part in the construction of the new republic.

and hidden fear's that Some body said She was possessed off, For
as to Manifest ones no body On Our Ile Was Wise Enough to
discover. Pray give my Hearty Regards to her; M^{rs} Muirson
and the Whole doth the Same. I wish you Well Sir Here; on
your passage to England; there; and When you Return.
Shall always be very glad to hear from you Especially when In
Europe and be assured Dear S^r. you are among the Number of
the professed friends of

Geo Muirson^{**}

[1758]

10th. Sep^r At Night

Your fingers—but my Eyes begin to fail me.

[For

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

at New Haven]

LETTER TO REV. JONATHAN INGERSOLL.

London, 16th Ap^l. 1759.†

D^r. Broth^r.

I now write you from this far distant land of Old England,
as I did frequently from N^o: York while I was waiting there for
a passage, during all which time I have not had the pleasure of
receiving a line from you. I know your late Sickness must be
your Excuse in great measure & perhaps altogether.

I have not heard from any of my friends in America since
my Coming away. Perhaps you are Still Labouring under
weakness & infirmity tho I hope it is otherwise with you. Be so
good as to write me one line at least. I myself was greatly

* Dr. George Muirson, Jr., of Brookhaven, Long Island, born 1708, died 1786, was the earliest practitioner in America of mercurial inoculation.

† Another letter, dated on the day after this, to his friend William Samuel Johnson, is given in part in Beardsley's *Life and Times of Johnson*, pp. 15-16.

A subsequent letter, written on December 22, 1759, is given in full by Dr. Beardsley, pp. 19-24.

relax'd at first coming here & for some time after, owing, I Imagin, partly to the moistness of the Air in this Climate & partly to my being Confined almost all the way over, to my Cabbin in a close pent air. The Ocean was in Such a rage we Could not go forth upon Deck nor yet Sit or Stand in the Cabbin great part of the time. The passage was truly terrible & alarming, nor did we but with the utmost hazard Escape Shipwreck finally at our making the Land, which was in the horrors of a Dark & Stormy night with the wind fiercely blowing on Shore. But through the Divine protection we Survived all those dreadfulls: & how many & what Kind of disasters Still await you & me, after those we already escap'd, God only knows. 'Tis a good thing to preserve a firm & Equal mind at all times, tho' 'tis difficult sometimes to preserve such a temper.

And now methinks you want to have me break off this Strain & tell you Something of this Same Country I am in. What shall I tell you but that human nature is the Same here & three thousand miles off: here is pain & pleasure; here are Rich & poor, Noble & ignoble, Some worthy & Some very unworthy persons of Every Character & Denomination of men: 'tis true here are vast improvements, many are the monuments of immense Labour & Skill & the Land is fine beyond what I expected. The winter has been Exceeding mild but the growth of the Earth is unaccountable. I walk'd lately in the fields where I found the grass full Ankle high & better, thick & rank: twould now mow as good rowen.

As to the Political world, they are all at work but those without Doors know little what is doing.

His Majesty is in usual health, but Advanced in years, as you know: 'tis a great Satisfaction to the nation to know that so well disposed a person as the Prince of Wales appears to be, is Likely to succeed to the Throne when his Majesty shall be no more. I have had the pleasure of frequently Seeing all the Royal Family: of being present in both the Houses of Parliament, Courts of Common Law, &c. &c. But of these things more particularly when we meet, as God grant we may in this Life again in Due time.

My kind regards to your family & proper Compl^{ts}. to all friends.

I am y^r. Cordial friend & Affec^t. Brother
Jared Ingersoll.

[To

Rev. Jonathan Ingersoll,
Ridgefield]

NOTES OF DECISION OF CASE, DERING VS. PACKER.

Lords Com^{te}. of Council, Cockpit, Whitehall*

1760 July 10	}	Deering of Boston, New England, V ^s .
Deering		Packer of N: Hampshire on an appeal
vs		from a Judgment of Supreme Court in N
Packer		

Hampshire on bond Dated 30 July 1734, from Packer to Deering payable 30 Jan^y. 1735, Conditioned for payment of £2460. *in good publick Bills of y^e Province of y^e Massachusetts Bay or Current Lawfull money of New England* with Interest. Case:

The Def^t. sometime about y^e year 1752 made a tendry of a Large Sum in the then Current bills of New Hampshire, or out of which he told the Pl^t. to take his due, there having been many payments made & indorsed. The Pl^t. refused y^e money & afterwards brought his Action in which he obtained Judgment for y^e penal part of y^e bond by Verdict of y^e Jury in Decemb^r. 1758. Upon which the parties were heard in chancery of y^e

* Henry Dering, a Boston merchant (born 1684), in settling in 1734 a business transaction with his wife's brother, Thomas Packer, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, agreed to accept payment in Massachusetts currency or in "current lawful money of New England."

Mr. Dering died in 1750, and in 1760 his son and executor, Thomas Dering, appealed to England against a decision of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire on the interpretation of the above-quoted phrase. The debt had already been paid in part, and the appeal was against the acceptance of New Hampshire and Connecticut currency in payment of the remainder.

The briefs in this case are in the British Museum. Additional Manuscripts, 36,218, f. 44, transcripts of which are in the Library of Congress.

bond agreeable to y^e Law of y^e Province, & y^e Court gave Judgment for y^e Sum of £354.6.9½ Bills of Credit of N Hampshire N^o: Tenor, being y^e nominal Sum due at y^e time of y^e tendry, deducting y^e Sums paid & indorsed, so that y^e Court went upon a principal that the Cred^r. was holden to take y^e bills as tendred & that y^e Debtor was not holden to make good the depreciation of y^e Same nor to pay in Silver or real money.

On y^e side of y^e Appellant, viz y^e Cred^r., it was Insisted that the payment ought to have been Either in the Bills of y^e Massachusetts Bay (which it seems were all Called in & Sunk before the tendry) or in Silver money agreeable to the proclamation of Queen Ann, which they Insisted was the true meaning of that part of y^e Condition, viz *Current Lawfull* money of N England; twas also by him Claimed to have all y^e Sums that were indorsed reduced in nominal Sum down to y^e Value of Silver at y^e time of y^e giving of y^e bond which was about 27/ p^r. oz.

On y^e Side of y^e Def^t. twas Urged that Current money of N England at that time meant & was understood to be indifferently the bills of Credit of any, all, or Either of y^e four N England Colonies, that therefore y^e tendry was in the Specie Contracted for, & that y^e Sums indorsed were not only of Course upon that Supposition Equal to the very Sums Expressed, but that the Cred^r. by indorsing had agreed to & accepted of so much as y^e Same Expressed in real as well as nominal Sum.

Earl Grenvill Lord Presid^t. & Lord Mansfield L^d. Ch. Justice of the Kings Bench, Expressed themselves fully upon y^e words—Current Lawfull money of N. England, in favour of y^e Cred^r., to which y^e other Lords agreed, that it did not mean Bills of public Credit of any Colony, but were put in Contradistinction to y^e Same.*

Upon the whole L^d. Mansfield said he was Clear on y^e one hand that the Sums indorsed ought to be allowed according to the nominal Sums so indorsed, Equal to y^e Same Sums of money mentioned in the bond, & that the Pl^t. had no right to

* [Note by Mr. Ingersoll.] Perhaps they were mistaken in that matter, not being acquainted with the Curreney & Understanding of y^e people in N. England, and y^e Def^t not well prepared to shew that matter.

have the Same any way reduced or altered—on the other hand that the tendry was not good in any respect, not only in that it was in a Species of Currency different from that Contracted for, but also in that it was out of time, being many years after the time for payment was Lapsed and also without Notice. He said, what! Shall a man meet his Cred^r. in the Street Unawares & tender a Debt to him. The Chancery he said allow Six Months Notice to be given of time & place. He said the Law of the Province Enabling the Court in such Cases to turn itself into a Court of Equity, & Chancer down the bond to the Sum due by y^e Condition, was a very good thing & what S^r. Tho^s. More in his time Labourd so hard to obtain an Act of Parliament for here, & because the Judges with whom he had Several Conferences about y^e matter were for retaining the old Artificial way, he declared he would always grant Injunctions in these Cases. He further said he was at no loss that the Judgment appealed from ought to be Reversed, but he was at some loss what Rule to go by in Ascertainig y^e quantum of y^e Debt, *Since the Province Bills Contracted for were Called in & gone, & Seemed desirous to know what the practice had been in N: England in such Cases.* Upon this the Solicitor General being of Council for y^e Def^r. referred his Lordship to me as I was present, for information. Being asked I told the Court that old tenor when Contracted for had been allowed to be tendred, altho' depreciated in Value, if tendred in Season, that toward the Close of the Existence of old tenor and after the Same was Called in & Sunk when Judgments were given for real money this matter was much Agitated, viz how much to give. Some were for giving the Value of y^e Old tenor or bills of Credit Contracted for as the Same was at the time when y^e Obligation was out or y^e Debt become due, others would have it Settled as it was when at the least & worst period, others again were for taking a Medium, tho' the more general method where I was acquainted had been to take for the Rule the Value of the bills when they should have been paid by y^e Contract. L^d. Mansfield upon it was pleased to say he had received much light & was relieved from his difficulty from what I had

Informed, that he thought much might be said for taking as a Rule the Value of the old tenor at the time Set by the Contract for payment, that that, upon the mention of it, Struck him as the Rule of right as a general Rule; *however, as this Case was Circumstanced*, a bond outstanding so very long,—as the bills of publick Credit which were very much the Currency of the Currency [? Colony] Sunk gradually & became in Some measure Every one's Loss, he thought the Same in this Case to be in Some measure at least divided between the parties; So upon the whole instead of taking the price of Silver at y^e time of y^e Contract and at y^e time Set for payment* which was about 27/ p^r. oz, the Lords of Appeal fixt it at 37/ and Computed y^e Debt accordingly. This made about £100. Sterling in favour of y^e Appellant but as no Costs are allowed in these Cases upon the Appeal he could not be much a gainer by promoting y^e Appeal.

N. B. L^d. Mansfield in discussing this point said in all Appeals from determinations in the Plantations the Court from which the Appeal comes ought to Certify the whole matter as it Lay before the Court, & if the Judgment was founded upon a general Verdict the Court ought to State and Certify the whole Evidence as well the parol as any other, and that the Lords of Appeal had dismissed an Appeal because that had not been done.

This might be difficult to be done when the Judges make no minutes; here the practise is for the Judge to take minutes of the Substance of all Evidence as the Same is Delivered in to y^e Court & Jury.

NOTICE OF DRAWING OF LOTTERY.

Lottery office, within Two Doors of Lord Mayors
in the Poultry London Novem^r. 20th. 1761

This day N^o. 53,697 in the Present State Lottery, Register'd
at this office, in your name was Drawn a Blank.

Your most Humble Servant

Rob^t Gray for G: Fearn

* Dr. Stiles in his "Itineraries" gives the price of silver in 1735 as 27s. 6d. and in 1734 as from 24s. to 27s.

P: S: [Illegible] Tickets, Shares, & Chances, are every day, mornings and evenings, during the whole time of Drawing are Selling at this Office: where most Ready money is paid for Blanks and Prizes of This and former Lotteries.

[To

Jared Ingersal Esq^r. of New Haven in
the Collony of Connecut. To the care of Rich^d.
Jackson Esq^r. Counciler at Law of the
Inner Temple]

LETTERS OF ANN DAVIES (OR ROBINSON).

London: Sep^r 14: 1761

Sir

M^r Harrison of Bread street was hear to day for places to see y^e procession of y^e Coronation and he told me he should send your Hankerchfs in a few days. So I tack this opportunity of troublen you with this and hope it will find you & your good Lady & son and all your frends well and am in hopes to have a Confirmation of it soon from your bone hand writing. I sent the book as you order to Portsmouth with a Letter and M^r Bucknell was so obligen as to send them back and wrote me word that y^e Made was saild and no prospect of Her return; as I judge you wold be glad to have theam, got Mr Harrison to put them in y^e parsal for you. I now must give you som account of y^e hurly-burly we are in for I can not Call it anny better. Was you to see paleas yard you wold not know it; is all bealt round with Scaffold at y^e tops of thair houses; but I beleave that will not answer, as I cannot find any will go at y^e top of mine; not with standing I have had Ladders maid to go up and down, as you know how y^e rufe is bealt and y^e house [so] very grat hight that y^e peple seams to be afeard. Our Queen* Com to town last tusday arrived at S^t. James at three aclock and was Marrad at ten that night. She was very fine, thair was grat

* Queen Charlotte, consort of King George III. was married on September 8, and crowned on September 22. 1761.

rejoycings and a brilliant ball y^e next night. Y^e people differ much in thair opinions of her; as she landed at Harridge she Com y^e new road, and M^r Harrison rode by y^e side of Coach for half a mile and he says she is very agreable but as not much buety; I hope what she wants in purson she will have in mind. Thair was two Gentman of my acquatancee as says thay wold not gave two pance for her, was she to be had. I have not seen hur so Can not gave my opinion. So soon as thair comes out a good print of her I will send own to you. I have sent M^{rs} Ingersoll a Coronation feaver and som ribbn which is much y^e tast hear at this time and hope she will be please to except of it. Y^e Gentman as took ye two pair Stares is a marchant, his name is Ver-nen. M^r Life recommend them to me, and M^r Pen of Pensavinea and his wife Lady Juliet is of y^e partay and seavearl Quakers. I was at own of thair houses last week and dined thair and was treated with a grat deel of good Manners. Miss Pen is to Com ye night befor and is to lay with me. Thair is no news talk of but waddings and Cornation show; not a word do I hear of Peace, but you know I am no Politician; I never trouble my self with state affears, so Can not say much about that. I had like to fogot y^t y^e Queen was proclaim last satterday in y^e same manner as ye wadding and Coronation was. M^{rs} Galman was hear that day and inquired after you and desird her Compl^{ts}. to you and like wise did my Neace Nancy Robts. I dont I shall tyher you with this long scroll but know you will be so good as to exeuse all defects, so I conclude Wishing you & yours halth & happiness and am Sir you frend and hum^b. servent to Command.

Ann Davies.*

P. S.—pray my Comp^{ts}. to good M^{rs} Ingersall and Master and hope y^e Close was liked and bag, likewis my respacks to M^r Harrison.

* Mrs. Ann Davies (afterwards wife of William Robinson) was the landlady at whose house in Palace Yard Mr. Ingersoll boarded during his stay in London in 1759-61.

London Feb. 28: 1762

Sir

Your Letter dated Oct 20: at N: York Com to hand in January last. I was very glad to hear you was safe arrived after baine so long at See; but, as you had good Company and your good friend Temple you posable might pass your time agreable on bord a ship. I likewis was feaverd with a letter da^t. y^e. 9 of Decem^r, ware in you tell me you found good M^{rs} Ingersall & Son & all your friends well which no doubt must Contribute gratley to your happiness which I Congratulate you on. I wrote you in Sep. last and sent y^e Books that Com from y^e Arts & Sciences and took y^e. liberty to send M^{rs} Ingersall a Corronation feaver and some Ribbn. Mr Harrison was with me and told me he should send your Handkerchief and expect y^e ship to sale Dereeteley, so I maid huse of that optuney and wase in hopes they got safe some time sence. I now must give you som account of y^e Corronation: it was Conducted very badley: it was quit darke when y^e possession Com back from y^e. Abbey, which maid y^e. Company very angry as it was y^e. bast part of y^e. Show, but ware y^e falt lay I know not, but som says it was y^e Bishops; his Majeste was not pleased with it. I beleave thair neaver was so maney people assemble to gather before and realy maid a very fine apprence as every own was drest and strove to out do each other. Palace yard was scaffold all round and ye possession want round Mr Nins Corner which maid places and rooms let much more. I beleave I was as well of as any own in y^e. row except M^{rs} Cam and she M^r Matterson sude and recovear 1 hunderd & 50 pouns dammage this turm, and likewis M^r Car he as sued and got 1 hunderd pounes of him. Mr Car was y^e new Commer and had y^e hansom Daughters. M^r Matterson is very ill: y^e Lord send him a good jurney for I thank him a very bad man. Thair is sad affair at Lord Penbrucks.* he is gon of with a yong Lady, Daughter to a Gentle-

* Henry Herbert, 10th Earl of Pembroke, had just eloped with Miss Hunter; but returned to his wife and to his employments in 1764.

man who is own of y^e Lords of y^e Admaltry, his name is Hunter; his Majsty is very angry with Lord Penbruck and as tuck all his imployments from him and his Lady is all most mad.

I have seen y^e. Queen and indead I think her a very bad peace, for she is very short and a disagreeable face; she has not y^e luck of a gentlewomen, much more a Queen. I am much disturbe ye King as not a hansomer wife, but what she wants in buety I hope she will make up in goodness. I will send you a print of her as soon as thare is own like her: thar is a grat maney that is don but not any that is like.

now for Mr Pit. you diser I will gave you account how he Cam to be out; you know I am no Politician but will gave you as good account of it as I Can. The chief reason of Mr Pits resigning is that he was of Opinion that tharr should be imeadiatly Warr declared against Spain as it would be greatly for y^e. Nations advantage, as a Spanish Warr seemd quite unavoidable to him & there fore the sooner they began it, the better it would be for the publiek good; but the Majority of y^e. Gentlemen in y^e. Ministry was of a different opinion, upon which he thought proper to quit his Commissions, but thay soon found thar mistake and was obliged to follow his measures.

I now must say som thing of my self. I am in Buckingham Stret, york Buildings,* but did not geat in to my house til y^e. 11 of Nov. and Strouds time was up 29 of Oct, but I was oblige to storm ye Cassal and Com in by force. I have not got all my money from Stroud and beleave I neaver shal for he plays lest in site. I found my goods very much dammaged and thay have Cost a good deal to put tham in repeair; as to what I am doing I do asure you I pass my time but very porley. I wish I could say palace yard seamed Dream to me. I have neave ben well sence ye Corronation. I am very low spirits and geat leatle or

* "York Buildings" was a term applied to the houses and other buildings between the Strand and the river Thames, a short distance east of where Charing Cross station now stands. They formed a group of streets and alleys named after George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, George Street, Villiers Street, Duke Street, Of Alley, and Buckingham Street. "Off Alley" is all that now remains.

no sleep at night the fortage [=fatigue] of y^e. Corronation Day was more then my Spirats Cold bair. I fainted a way and fell down twis, a hurt own of my arms very much, I was up all ye night before Corronation. I neaver went throu so much fortage in so shot atime. Acordon to your ordars I have paid y^e money to your Banker 50 pounes and wish it had bin 5 hundead. I maid but 15 Shealius of y^e. top of y^e. hous, as I did not seaffal, and thay that did got but litle and som out of poeket. It Cost 12 pouns of money, y^e. benches and repares in y^e in side of y^e. house and the Mob Com from orthr houses. I got Mr Cuttel to keep gard thair but it was more than he cold do. The top cost 4 pouns to mend it, not but I beleave I was imposed on by worck man, but what cold I do. I paid Mr Fuller and we parted very good Frinds.

I beleave I shall tyeare you with this long letter. You see I dont falow your Example for I mus say your letters is very short. Pleas not to make no more use of y^e. franks, for at y^e. post office thay know ware y^e. Letters Coms from and thay Charge duble postage. I paid two shealens for that Letter as you put in y^e. frank I beg y^e feaver you will let me know how M^{rs}. Ingersall liked her Close & goods and what ye people said of them and if thay was liked in geanral and how Temple behaved. It was said hear that Lord Stirlin was arrasted for to or three thousens pouns as soon as he got to new York; pray send be word if that is trew. . . .

Give my Comp^{ls}. to your good Laday and son and if I can be of any Servies to her in this part of y^e. world I bag she will Command me. My nees diserd her Comp^{ts}. to you and says she shal be glad to see you heare. I hope you excuse all y^e. defects in this Letter, and I Conclude wishing you & yours all halth & happiness and am your friend and humble Servent to Command

Ann Davies

P. S. Ye InClosed Letters, two Com to my hans in November and y^e rest in January. I though it proper to send them as I did not know but they might be of som Consequence; it is said hear that Mrs Wright expects Temple ouver in May next.

I hope you will be kind a nuff to ansure this Scroll and you will much oblige yours. I have had two Gentleman to lodge but thair are gon in y^e. Contry and I now quit a lone which makes time pass very dull.

London Oct^r 4: 1762

Sir

I Received your Letter, dated June 16, which Could not but gave me great pleasure to hear you & you good Lady & son was well. I was seprised you had not received won of my Letters. I have sent three since you left this plase. I was with Mr. Harrison and he was a good deal Concerned you had not received the Handkerchen but hope you got them be fore now.

I must answer both your Letters in won, as I was Favoured with that dated 19 of July soon after y^e. first, and was glad to hear you at last got won of my Letters. I assure you it is a great pleasure to hear from you, and I will do every thing in my power to retorn y^e. obligation. I have ten thousand things to say, Cold it be don by word of mought,—howeaver I moust gave you som account of my sealf. I am at preseant in Buckingham street and have a gentnan & Lady Bord with me, but will not be for any time. If Mrs. Ingersoll is enclined to have a pr of Stays I will do my indeavour to send her a pair of the most fashionable that is wore. As to Jumps no one wares them but what gives suck; half Boned stays is what is most wore, some of Sailk and some of stuff. The silk is two pound five & the stuff one pound five; but if she pleases she may have them full boned as useal, only very limber.

There is a great talk of paice at present, but it is to be hoped not before the parliament meets. In one of yours you say you don't know but you may wunce more see England and then you will make me a visite. I know no one I shall be so glad to [see] as my good frend Mr. Ingersoll, and then hope I shall have the pleasure to see your good Lady, for if I was in her plase you should not leave me behind, for you know how often you wished for her when you was in England before; so if

you come without her you know the Lose. But of that you are the best judge. So I Conclude with my best respects to you both, wishing you every Earthly Blessing that this world affords.

I am Sir your most obliged servant.

Ann Davies.

P. S.—According to my promise I have sent you a print of the Queen, the last and best that has been done, and two small prints of the [Thames?] which I hope you will please to except: thay will sarye to divert you at your leasure hours.

I have had a great los of my purs with three guineas & some silver which give me som uneasiness; but that wold not fetch it again.

London Feb^y. 2: 1763.

Sir

I reciv'd your most Esteem'd favour of the 7 Augst by the way of Ireland last week. I must beg leave to asure you that it gives me the greatest pleasure to Hear that you and your family are well, and I flatter my self that you will continue that pleasure to me when ever you have an opportunity. It makes me extremely happy that any Little thing that I have done meets with M^{rs} Ingersoll Aprobation, and I hope you will do me the Justice to believe that there is nothing within the compass of my small Abileties shall ever be wanting to serve you both when you think proper to employ me. I am inclined to believe that the additional Kitchen will answer your Expectation.

I am a very bad politician, therefore you must not Expect much political news from me. I dare say you had been informed long ago of the Glorious and Advantageous peace our new Ministry has made. I can't tell what you Gentlemen in America think of it, but it struck the good people here with amazement, and thay talk'd lowdly of bringing the Adviseres to the Scaffold when the Parliament mett; but thay were

greatly mistaken: the Scott* had the Majority in both Houses 4 to one, he has intirely altered the good old System of government. The whigs are out to a man, and in their room the most notorious Jacobites sit Trumphant over the ruins of thair Country. Yours and his Countris frind Pitt spokk against it near three hours, but could not find any to Second him in all that Asembly; Bribery and Corruption had so blinded them, that thay quietly Suffered their Country to be shamefully sold. Bute and a Certain Lady† entirely governs the three Kingdoms with a very high hand, and it is greatly to be feared they will soon set it in such a flame that thair posterity will Curse thire memory: this much for Politics.

I shall only add that I am at present under som difficulty. I wish that I was near you. I am sure you would not deny me your good advice. My Case is this. Our army & Navy beeng disbanded, the Gentlemen have nothing to do but plague us poor women. One of them has taken it into his pate to plague me with his nonsense; he has laid very Close Siege som time, and how to make him raise it I am at a Loss. I know you will say, the old fool has got Matrimony in her Silly noddle again, and she will certainly have the man; I really cannot tell whither I shall or not. I wish I had your Opinion of him. He is neither old nor ugly, has plain sense and som money; as for his Temper, I intend to try Suffisiently before I trust him. I must beg your advice in your next. I hope to hold out till then, if it is between this and the middle of the summer. I wrote to you some time ago and Committed it to the Care of Mr Harrison (with a print of her majesty), where in I give you some account of the stays you mentioned. M^{rs} Ingersoll was certainly in the right, for no Ladys wears Jumps but those that gives Suck. The Stayes worn at this time are called half Bone. Thay are made both sides alike, so thay may be turned at pleasure. Thay are what I have wore some years. They are made of Callimanco or Silk Tabby or rich sattin as Ladis likes. Silk

* The Earl of Bute, first Lord of the Treasury and head of the Ministry.

† The Princess Dowages of Wales, mother of King George III.

are two pounds five and stuff one pound five: if M^{rs} Ingersoll will please to inform me which of them she chooses, and send me her measure, thear shall be nothing wanting in me to Execute her Commands.

I suppose I have tyred you, therefore shall only repeat my former request: that is, I may have the pleasure of hearing that you and your family are well at all oppotunities. Present my best respects to M^{rs} Ingersoll and Son and please to except the same from,

Sir, Your most Obedient and Humble Servant
Ann Davies.

I told you in my last I had the misfortune to lose my Purs with three guineas & some silver. I can't help leting you know my misfortunes.

[To

Jer^d. Ingersoll Esq^r.

in New Haven Connecticute

to the care of M^r Theophyl. Brache

Merch^t in New York]

June: 29: 1763

Sir

your Letter dated 28 of April Com safe to hand and I have sent you the things you disird to have and hope the Jumps will fit and pleas Mrs Ingersall as thay are ye best sort that Can be maid. I likewise send the hat Cover and 12 p^r of Socks, 6 pr Cotton and 6 pr wosted and som laces for the Jumps. I am very sorry you have not receav no letter from me as I have wrote to you several times. I forgot to mention in my last Letter the prints were in a Trunk to Tho^s Hancock Esq^r in Boston whear Mr Harrson sends to. I shal write to you by y^e. post which posably will reach you before this. Please to make my Compliments to M^{rs} Ingersall and son and tell her very thing that is in my power to oblige her she may command

and am S^r. your frend and

Hum^b. Servent Ann Davies

P. S. the Box you had with som
writings of M^r Davies Com back
to me and the person that brought
them demand 5 shealens
[To

Jar'd Ingersal Esq^r]

London Oct^r. 18, 1763.

Sir:—I receved yours dated y^e. 8 of June a few dayes after I had sent the Jumps and things you write for in two former Letters, and took it for granted that Mrs. Ingersoll Chose Jumps, and am very sorray thay was made as she like Stays better. As they are very hansom and fit for any lady to ware; I Dare vanter to say if she dislikes them then thair is a nough that will be Glad to take them of her hands.

Now as you say a word upon politicks I am sorry it should give you so much disgust. I only ment to let you know what the people said hear; but now thear quit turnd Cap in hand. and thay that was for his Lordship is much against him and say thay will have his head next sesions of parliment. But no more of that as I am no politican. Hope you will excus all I say as I wold not Chus to fall out with my frends a bout state afeairs.

I was feaverd with a letter from you dated 6 of July, and have sent the muffs & Tippits and hope thair are what the Ladys will like. Thear are what is most Fashionable hear. The things have been bought this month, but cold not send them before. I waited on Mr Harrison and Mr Bridgell (he was kind anough to send the last things) but neither of them had any thing to new york. I therefore imbraced the present Opportunity which is by a young gentleman that Lodged at my House who goes to new york and as promised to take the same care of them as his own and see them delivered to Mr Theophylact Bache your acquaintance in new york in whoes care I have Directed them and hope thay will go safe to you. The Gen-

tleman's name is Pringle, a Relation of General Murrays,* Governor of Quebeck, to whom he is going. The name of the [vessel?] is the New Hope, Cap^t. Fell. You talke of Coming to England. and hope you will bring M^{rs} Ingersoll with you, as you know how much you was at a loss with out her. Please to make my best respects and tell her I shall be very glad to see you both in this Country and hartily wish you a safe Voyage. I am now to acquaint you that I am in for life again. I am afraid you will laugh at me but I cannot help it, it is now too late. Mr Robinson joyues me in our best respects to you & family, and am Sir

Your most Obliged Humble Servant

Ann Robinson

P. S.—I hope to hear in you next that you have recd. all the things safe. I have here sent you a Bill of the Whole:

	£	s	d
Hatt Case	0	12	0
Jumps	2	5	0
Lacess	0	3	0
Socks	0	9	6
Box	0	1	0
Muffs and Tippiets & Box	2	9	0
	5	19	6

London 10th: Nov^r. 1763

Sir

I rec'd your much Esteemed fav^r. of the 6th. of July (Some time ago,) and according to your disire went emmediately & purchas'd the muffs and Tippiets: you may depend upon it, that I laid out the money to the best of my knowledge: they are what is entirely the present Taste. I showed them to several Ladies of my Acquaintance who all pronounced them extreamly

* James Murray was military governor of Quebec, 1759-1764, and the first civil governor of all Canada, 1764-1766.

pretty. I shall think my self happy if M^{rs} Ingersall is of the same Opinion when she sees them, which I hope will be soon: the Ship Sail'd a fourtnight ago. I embraced the first Opportunity to send them. They come by a young Gentleman of the Arme^y that Lodged at my House who promised to take particulare care of them and see them deliverd to M^r Theophylact Bache your acquaintance in New York to whoes Care they are Directed. The Ships name is the good Hope Cap^t. Fell and the gentlemans Name that has them in Charge is Pringle, a near Relation of Gen^l Murrays Governor of Qubeck tow home he is going. I am in hopes to have the pleasure of seeing you and M^{rs} Ingersall in England soon; when ever it hapens I sincerely wish you a safe Voyage. Mr Robinson Joins me in our best respects to you, M^{rs}. Ingersall and Master, and I hope you will belive me to be with great Truth

S^r. your most Obligd

Humble Servant

Ann Robinson

S^r

I received your favour of the 13th of Nov^r last inclosing your Draft which I have Reed. It gives me great pleasure to hear that you and your family are well. I sent you a letter the first of Nov^r. last, to acquaint you that I had sent the Muffs & Tip-pits you desired me to buy: they are the genteelest that is wore and what is the present Taste, and I hope they will please. We have been informed that the Paquet that had my letter in was cast away on the Coast of Carolina and the mail was entirely lost: therefore you have had no advice, and I have not heard that the Ship is Arrived at new York, that had them on board. Her name is the New Hope Cap^t Fell and Saild from hence in Nov^r.: the gentlemans that had them in his care went from my House, is Cap^t. John Pringle a very near relation of Gen Murrays Governor of Qubeck to whom he was going. He promised to deliver them into the hands of Your friend at new York Mr Bache to whoes care they are directed, and I hope you have Receev^d them before this. I flattered my self with the hopes of seeing you before this in England by your last Letter I sin-

cerily wish you a safe passage when ever you doe com. I am glad you have put it off till the Spring for neaver was there a more Tempestuous winter nor so many loses at Sea; the Accounts are Terrible. We have had a marriage between the Prince of Brunswick and the Princess Augusta; he stayd about a fourth night, and has been gone about ten days with his wife. I had the pleasure of Seeing him at Court, and think him Extreemly agreable; he was universally Esteemed by all ranks of People. Please to make my best respects to M^{rs} Ingersoll & Son and am with great Esteeme S^r your most Obliged Humble Servent

Ann Robinson

Febry 9: 1764

LETTERS TO GOV. BENNING WENTWORTH.

N: Haven Nov^r 14 1761.

S^r

having Engaged with y^e Commissioners of his Majestys Navy to procure one Ships Load of Masts &c by y^e way of Connectient River for y^e Kings Use, I am to Desire you to appoint Some proper Person to Designate the trees & timber to be made Use of in order to y^e fulfilment of y^e Contract,* agreable to his Majestys Directions Signifyed upon y^e Copy of y^e Contract which I herewith send to you for your perusal.

the Bearer Cap^t. Wyllys will be able to acquaint you more particularly when & where it will be needfull to have y^e Service performed.

I am S^r

Y^r. Very Humb^l Serv^t.

J. Ingersoll.

Benning Wentworth Esq^r

[Copy.]

* Ingersoll's contract with the Navy Board was dated December 19, 1760, and called for eighty masts of so many inches diameter at a certain height from the ground. The best timber for masts ran from 35 to 36 inches in diameter and while not to exceed the latter figure at the butt, was to measure as many yards in length as inches in diameter. The average mast ship carried about 50 sticks, but Ingersoll's ship seems to have carried the full number called for by his contract.

N. Haven 18th Decemb^r. 1761S^r.

Your favour of y^e 27th Ult. I Duly rec^d by Cap^t. Wyllys, & in Answer beg Leave to acquaint you that I have agreed with y^e Said Cap^t. Sam^l. Wyllys & Mathew Talcott Esq^r. both of Middleton in this Colony to procure the Stores Stipulated for in my Contract with y^e Comm^{rs}. of his Majestys Navy, & that it is intended to procure y^e Same upon Connecticut River, as near y^e Same as may be, along y^e borders of y^e Same from Deerfield & y^e Cowhees* Inclusive.

You will therefore be so good as send y^e proper Licences as mentioned in your Letter by the bearer.

I am S^r.

with great Respect

Y^r. most Obed^t.Humb^l. Serv^t.

J. Ingersoll

Gov^r. Wentworth

[To Benning Wentworth Esq^r. Surveyor General of the Kings woods. Copy.]

LETTER OF THE NAVY BOARD.

Navy Office 26th. Janry: 1762.

Sir

As We have not yet heard from you, since your return to Connecticut, concerning the dependance We are to have on being supplyd with the Cargo of Masts for which you Entered into Contract with U^s on his Majesty's behalf the 19th of December 1760: and it being of great consequence to his Majesty's Service, that We should have this information as soon as possible for Our government in appointing the time for coming to a new Contract for supply of American Masts: We have thought it necessary to desire you will give U^s the most early and full Account you

* Coos or Cowhees is on the New Hampshire side of the Connecticut river, a short distance below the Canadian line. The name is now given also to the northernmost county in the State.

can both as to the time of supply, and whether from the fresh information you must have had since your arrival at Connecticut, the number and sizes of large Masts will conform, as you gave Us reason to hope, to the aforesaid agreements. We are

Your humble servants,

G Cockburne	Tho Slade	W. Bately	E Mason
T Brett			R Temple*

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

Newhaven in Connecticut.

LETTERS TO THE NAVY BOARD.

New Haven in Connecticut 13 Feb: 1762

S^r

this Serves to acquaint you that Since my Arrival home I have agreed with Several persons here of good reputation & firmness & well acquainted with Mast Timber, to Carry into Execution the Contract I Entered into when in England for Supplying One Ships Load of Masts &c.

the persons So Undertaking have been & viewed the timber & River by which the Sticks are intended to be Conveyed to y^e Sea, & have applied to & Obtained of y^e Surveyor General the Necessary Licences &c, and have now Every thing ready for making the trial, of which I hope to be able to give you a good Account in my Next.

I am S^r

Y^r Very Humb^l Serv^t.

J Ingersoll

Tho^s. Slade Esq^r.

Copy

N. Haven 13 May 1762

S^r

Your favour of the 26th Jan^y. I received this Day and for answer am to acquaint you that I wrote you the 13 Feb Last.

* The Navy Board consisted of the principal officers (treasurer, comptroller, and surveyor) and three commissioners. Of the names here signed Cockburn was comptroller and Slade and Bately were surveyors.

which I hope you have received before now, in which I informed you that I had procured Certain Gentlemen here of Undoubted Ability & Judgment in the business, to Undertake to Execute y^e Contract I made for Supplying One Ships Load of Masts &c, and that they had reconnoitered the Country—found Every thing agreeable & had procured the Necessary Licences from the Surveyor Gen^l. &c and intended Soon to Enter upon the business.

I have now to acquaint you that these Same Undertakers have felled and got down near y^e River Some & are now at work getting the whole of y^e Sticks agreed for, & hope to have them all at the Sea Side this Season. Nothing that I know of will prevent, Unless a Scarcity of rain should occasion the waters of y^e River to be too Low; of this I shall be able to inform you in about Six weeks time.

if the Sticks Can be got down this Season, I shall hope to have them Delivered at Portsmouth by Next Christ^s.

I believe Sticks of any needed Size may be had.

I am S^r.

Y^r. most Obed^t.

Humb^l. Serv^t.

J Ingersoll

G. Cockburn Esq^r

Controller of his Majestys Navy

Copy

Navy Office 5 July 1762

Sir,

We have received your letter of 13th May last, and as we have thereby the satisfaction of finding that you have no doubts about complying with the Agreement you are under for Masts, We have only to recommend to you, to omit nothing that can enable you to make the delivery in as short time as possible; and to repeat our request, that so soon as it is in your power, you will send us some more particular Accounts concerning the Number and Sizes of Masts that you find may be procured in

Connecticut, as you have said in your aforesaid Letter, that you beleive Sticks of any Size may be had. We are

Your humble Servants,

G. Cokburne

Tho Slade

W. Bately

E Mason

R Temple

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

New Haven in Connecticut

N Haven 12 Oct^r 1762

Gentⁿ.

I rec^d. your favour of y^e 5th July last week & have now to Inform you that the most of y^e Sticks are felled which are to furnish the load of Masts &c I am to provide for the Kings Use, among which are two which tis Expected will work 36 inches. The people are now busy in getting the Sticks to the border of y^e River & you may Depend that y^e very first Opportunity of a freshit will be Embraced for getting them to y^e Rivers mouth, which however may not happen before y^e next Spring—immediately after which they will be laden for Portsmouth.

I pay the greatest Attention to this business, from Views not only of discharging my present Obligations but also of future benefits as well to y^e publick as to myself.

I am Y^r. most Obed

Humb^l Serv^t.

J Ingersoll

To y^e Hon^r. Commiss^s of his

Majesty^s Navy

Copy

N Haven 1 March 1763

Gentlemen

I have now to Acquaint you that I received Information a few Days since, from the Managers under me, of the Mast affair, that they have got down to the River Side a sufficient number of Very fine Sticks to Complete the Load agreed for, among which are two of thirty Six Inches; and as there is at this time a great body of Snow on the ground in those parts, there is no doubt of Suffieient water in y^e River within a Month or two to float y^e timber to the place of Lading. As soon as this is done

I shall write to London for a Ship to Carry y^e Same to Portsmouth.

I am told M^r Wentworth, the Surveyor General of y^e woods, has Sent to Inspect y^e Conduct of y^e workmen & is about to Seize a few Sticks which have been felled under Contract dimensions, & tis not Unlikely he may Communicate to y^e board whatever of this matter he shall think worthy of Notice. I have therefore to Inform you on this head that there has not been any more of those Smaller Sticks felled than was absolutely necessary to Clear y^e way to the Larger—that there is but very^e few of these & nothing near so many as have been Usually felled on the like occasions. I hope no prejudices will be Conceived on this or any other Account relative to my Conduct in this Affair, as I mean nothing more or less than to Execute the Contract with all fidelity. I should not have mentioned this Circumstance but that I am Sensible my Undertaking in this Affair is not unlikely to meet with many discouragements of Various kinds, and I should be loth to have so promising a beginning meet with any from Small matters.

if things Succeed according to Expectation tis not Unlikely I may think of going over to England myself with the Masts; if so shall hope to have y^e pleasure of Seeing you & y^e honour of receiving your further Commands,

I am

Y^r Most Obed^t.

Hum^b Serv^t.

J Ingersoll

to the

Commiss^s of y^e Navy

[Copy.]

LETTER TO COL. SYMES.

Hartford March 3: 1763

S^r

I have Just time to acquaint you with my Surprize at hearing you have Orders from the Surveyer Gen^l of his Majestys Woods to sieze a part of the Sticks felled by the Gentlemen who

have Undertaken to Carry into Execution the Contract I have made with the Commissioners of the Navy. I am made to believe none have been felled but such as have been Expressly designated for that purpose by one of the Surveyers own Deputies. I have therefore obtained to my self the property of those trees so felled, agreeable to his Majestys express directions, & shall resent in a proper Manner any Infringment that shall be made on such my property. I doubt not you will be disposed from the account I have of you to act the fair part. I have sent the bearer M^r Burnham to Learn more particularly the part you have been Instructed to act in the affair, to whom I shall be glad you will Communicate freely Every thing on that head Consistant with your Duty; and doubt not with your ready Compliance which shall be gratefully acknowledged.

if you shall think your self to Enact any such orders as before Mentioned I trust you will Look on your self as holden to do me the least prejudice in your power.

I am S^r

Y^r Most Obedient

Humble Serv^t

J Ingersoll

P S the surplus number of sticks are ment only to supply Losses that may happen in the bringing down the River, and I am ready to give any Security that none shall be applied to private uses.

J. I.

Col Symes*

LETTER TO THE NAVY BOARD.

N: Haven 8 June 1763

Gentⁿ.

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that my people have got down the River a number of very fine Sticks of the Dimensions as Set down in the Inclosed list, to which are to be added about 8 or 10 more of dimensions not yet sent to me, that have Come down over the rapids since the main body.

* This copy is in a clerk's handwriting.

the only misfortune that has attended the floating down was the breaking in two a fine 37 Inch which will only make a Bowsprit as it now is—also a 36. is at present lodged on a rapid with about 20 other Sticks, where they must Lie till next Spring; the water has been remarkably Low this Season.

We have now Learnt that the best & Even Largest of Sticks may be Obtained this way, but that Some little Expence ought to be had to make y^e thing as it should be; we have also learnt this at no small Expence as being the first Attempt—Every thing new—& all materials to provide.

I should have wrote for a Ship by this Oportunity, but that we have sent for an Experienced Liner whose Judgment & actual proof of y^e Sticks we Choose to have first. I shall hope to be able to send by y^e next Packet at farthest, when I shall take the liberty to desire my Correspondent to wait on y^e board with an Exaet acc^o. of y^e Number & Size of y^e Sticks as they shall turn out when hewed, in order to be Informed what burdened Ship will answer. I hope y^e Load will reach Portsmouth at farthest by Christmas, & that it will meet with y^r. approbation.

I am

Y^r. Most Obed^t. Hum^{bl}. Serv^t.

J Ingersoll.

Copy
Commiss^s. of y^e Navy

LETTER OF THE COMPTROLLER OF THE NAVY BOARD.

Sir

It gives me pleasure to hear of M^r. Ingersoll. I did every thing in my power to assist that Gentleman when he was here, and shall on all occasions continue to do the same, as I am in great hopes by His means the Government will, not only for what He has now contracted for but in future, be furnisid with Masts on better terms than heretofore. If the Gentlemen you mention as M^r. Ingersolls Correspondents have not yet chartered a Ship, and will apply to M^r. Slade, Surveyor of the Navy at

the Navy Office, He will inform them what sort of Ship will be proper for the purpose. As Peace has taken place Convoy is certainly unnecessary, tho mentioned in the Contract. . . .

Sir

Your most Obedient

and most hum^{ble}. Serv^t.

G Cockburne*

August 19th. 1763

LETTER TO THE NAVY BOARD.

N: Haven 7 Feb. 1764

Gentⁿ.

After having waited Sometime, with some little impatience, for the arrival of a Ship to take in the Masts &c which I have before acquainted you I had ready to transport to England, I have received advice from my Correspondent at London that a Suitable Ship was not to be had till after Christmas, and that Such Ship is now provided & ordered to Sail for N: London at about this time, so that I may not Expect the Masts can arrive in England much before midsummer next.

I hope this little disappointment will not prejudice your affairs or mine; my good friend M^r. Jackson acquaints me that the Comptroller M^r Cockburne has been pleased to speak kindly of me & to wish me Success, for which goodness I shall think myself much Indebted to the Comptroller & to the board.

I do assure you I have spared neither pains nor Expence to accomplish the Undertaking in such a manner as should be acceptable, and have only to Desire that the Board will be so good as not to take any Steps, unless quite necessary, that may prejudice my affairs or disappoint my future hopes, until my Arrival, as I am determined, God willing, to Come myself to England in the Mast Ship. I shall bring with me M^r. Willis, one of the two Gentlemen who Undertook under me to Carry this Contract into Execution. He is well acquainted with Nav-

* This letter was probably addressed to Richard Jackson, and by him forwarded to Mr. Ingersoll.

igation, Ship building & with timber, & has a personal knowledge of the kings yards in England. This Gentleman has been Constantly with the work people in getting this load & can therefore give the Board a particular Account of the Country where the Stricks grew, of the practicability of getting further Supplies, & in Short with Every thing relating to the Mast Affair in these parts, as he is a Gentleman of Strict Veracity & honour as well as good intelligence. I trust the board will think they shall receive better information from him in these matters than from any Vague Accounts which they may have from others, whose knowledge may perhaps be justly Suspected and as it may happen, their motives too.

I have nothing further to add but that I shall hope for the honour of seeing you at the board before very long & of satisfying you of my faithfull Endeavours to Serve his Majestys Interests, & of my being

with great respect

Y^r. most Obed^t. & most Humb^l. Serv^t.

J Ingersoll.

To the Hon^l Comm^s.
of his Majestys Navy.
[Copy.]

AFFIDAVIT OF GIDEON LYMAN.

GIDEON LYMAN* of North Hampton in the County of Hampshire in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, one of the Assistants to Benning Wentworth Esq^r: Surveyor General of his Majesty's Woods in North America &c: Being duly

* Gideon Lyman was deputy surveyor of the woods in Massachusetts, as Daniel Blake was deputy surveyor in Connecticut, under Benning Wentworth, Surveyor General, who was also Governor of New Hampshire from 1741 to 1767.

Ingersoll does not appear to have desired an independent vice-admiralty court for Connecticut, but wished to serve as deputy under the judge of vice-admiralty in New York, who at this time was Richard Morris, successor to his uncle, Lewis Morris, who died in 1762. It is doubtful if Ingersoll ever received the desired deputation. (Below, pp. 272, 275.)

sworn, deposeth & saith that he has been informed by the said Benning Wentworth Esq^r: that Jared Ingersoll Esq^r: when in England made a Contract with the proper Officers of the Navy for a number of Masts, Yards and Bowsprits for the use of the Navy, which in the whole were to be eighty Sticks and a few more in case any of them should prove useless or unfit for the purpose for which they were designed. That he has been Informed that Instead of the said eighty sticks, one hundred and Sixty sticks and upwards are cut by the persons employed by the said Jared Ingersoll to the great waste of the Kings woods, from which tho' he has a high opinion of M^r. Ingersoll's Character as an honest Man he conceives him an Improper person to set as Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court in the Colony of Connecticut concerning or relating to any pine Logs or Masts that may be seized or Libelled in the said Colony as forfeited for the use of his Majesty for having been cut without Licence therefor being first obtained.

Gideon Lyman.

Sworn this second day of April 1764

Before me: Re^d Morris

Copy

LETTERS TO GOV. BENNING WENTWORTH, AND ENCLOSURE.

N Haven 3^d Ap^l 1764

S^r

I received y^r. favour of the 3^d. of Jan^y. yesterday, & not before, having been from home about a month last past.

in answer to your request I have to Inform you that, the Gentlemen Mes^s. Talcott & Wyllys who undertook to Carry my Contract with the Navy board into Execution, always affirmed to me that out of the whole number of Sticks which they felled they have been able to get Scarcely Enough to Answer the Contract,—that many broke Coming over the rapids, others in falling, that Some Lodged by y^e way & Some proved Defective in working—the particulars however of this matter I am not now able to furnish you with, but will Send to them immedi-

ately, (about 40 Miles from hence) for a Circumstantial Account of the transaction which you may depend I will transmit to you as soon as possible.

You may S^r. rest assured that I neither have nor will Suffer the least Spoil of the Kings woods to be made, that lies in my power to prevent, & am quite willing that Every person Employed by me should be Scrutinized to the utmost—& here I beg Leave to tell you in my turn that I have through y^e Course of y^e Last Summer heard with much Concern of incredible havock being made in y^e afores^d woods upon the River Connecticut, by great nmbers of persons, & that Y^r. Deputes Employed to Seize the timber have so Conducted as to Leave it worth while for these pillagers to Continue their trespasses. I Cannot Vouch for y^e truth of this, but think it high time that this matter was thoroughly Lookt into. I shall do myself y^e honour to write to you again, as Soon as I Can obtain y^e Acc^{ts}. you ask for. In the mean time

I Remain

y^r mos obed^t.

Humb^l. Serv^t.

J Ingersoll

Hon^l. Benning Wentworth Esq^r.

[Copy.]

Middletown April 9th 1764

Sir,

Yours of the 3^d. Instant we rec^d. wherein you Inform us that his Exelency Benning Wentworth y^e Surveyor General of the Kings Woods hath had a Representation made to him that we have made wast in the Kings Woods, and that we must give an Account of our proceedings; And Indeed from our first appearing in that part of the Country we foresaw from the reluctance that some of the People there Shewed, to y^e Experiments being made, that Suggestions to our Disadvantage were to be expected, and have experienced the same by the many low

things which have been done. Especially the Carrying off the hay. But to proceed, as soon as we received the Surveyour Generals Licence and time convenient offerd, we proceeded into the Woods where after long Search we fell 89 Trees that appeared to be sound, some of which broke in falling, 5 of them fatally, so that they were fit for no part of the Service, leaving 84 that appeared outwardly to be sound; in doing this we fell a Number of Defective Trees, among which was 63 Trees, not so Defective but that there was hope that they might Answer some Part of the Service and make up some of the Defects that would inevitably happen to those Trees that appeared Sound as well as the various Disasters that must happen in going down the River. Those 147, Trees we halled to the River; all but one, a Tree intended for a 30 Inch Mast Lying something further than the Rest, we could not hall for want of the hay taken away in our absence by Capⁿ. Zedekiah Stone of Petersham, which would have lasted one team 5 or 6 Days. According to the best of our Judgment and such other advice as we could get we were in great want of three or four Large Sticks, and accordingly was at the expence of Searching the Woods and had found Two large Trees fit for Masts of 35 or 36 Inches and which was greatly wanted to make good the places vacant and the Disasters which afterwards happened, but for want of hay we Could not hall them, & therefore we did not Cut them. When the River broke up we put all those Sticks into the River except two which broke in Roling down the Bank, and exercisid we may venter to say the most Strenuous Efforts in our Power to get them down the River, but in Coming down the falls in Walpole the most compleat Stick we had which we depended upon for a 36 Inch Mast broke in two pices not far from the middle; y^e other 36 Inch Received some Damage at the top end and afterwards Lodged on a Rock in the middle of the River in the Rapids at Deerfield; several others broke; some galled & bruised so deep that it greatly diminished the Size of the Sticks. When we came to work them we found many of those that we deemd sound trees proved defective, so that of what we got down that season we are greatly short of the Tonns of Timber contained in

your Contract, although we worked up every Stick & piece of a Stick that woud make as low as 18 Inch Mast, 24 Inch Bow Sprite or 17 Inch Yard. We sent Men up the River at low Water (viz) in September and Febuary & Rolled y^e great Sticks off the Rocks and all others that are to be found, and have Men now up the River in Order to bring them down that are behind, after which if we have Sucess we shall be able to give some more particulars—which we shall be always ready to do. In the Interim we remain your most obedient & Humble Servants.

Sam^l. Willis

Matthew Talcott

P. S. We expect to work up every Stick that will Answer in the Kings Service as low as is contained in [illegible] Contract, or not have the Ship full, and them that are below your Contract we must run the Risque of there not being Receiv^d. by the Naval Board.

M. Talcott

To Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

Copy [in a clerk's hand]. Original Sent Gov^r. Wentworth.

N Haven 25 April 1764

Sir

agreeable to my promise in my last I now send you Mes^s. Talcott & Wyllys Acc^t. of the trees they felled in order to fulfill my Contract with y^e Navy Board, And, S^r.

Y^r most obed^t.

Most Humb^l. Serv^t.

J Ingersoll

P. S. if the Acc^o. is wanting in any particular please to favour me with your Commands & I will Endeavour to get the Defects Supplied.

J. I.

The Hon^l. Benning Wentworth Esq^r.

Copy

LETTERS OF JOHN SLOSS HOBART.

S^{ta}. Croix Sep^r. 30th. 1761

Sir,

You will undoubtedly be surprised to hear from me in this Part of the World; 'tis what I least expected when last I had the Pleasure of seeing you, but Business growing dull at Home & hearing much of the West Indies as a Place to make a Fortune in a short Time, I ventur'd out about 18 months since & have been trading from Island to Island ever since, tho' not with so much Success as I could wish, tho' I can't complain.

At present we are all taken up with the Thoughts of an Attack upon Martinique, for my last Accounts from Home are that M^r. Amherst has collected together a large Number of Transports, the Regulars in Garrison are releiv'd by Provincials & in full March for N. York; which I look upon as favourable Prospects; Lord Rollo* is already arrived with 1500 Men & has taken Possession of Domineeo, for which Island I intend in about ten Days.

Sir, the Kindnes & Civility I have always rec^d. from yourself & Family embolden me to beg you will recommend me to some Post in the Customs at Martinique (should the English Conquer it as undoubtedly they will) or at least in Domineeo.

Had I any other Patron to apply to I would not trouble you on this Occasion, but my Fathers situation in Life is such that it don't lead him into any European Correspondence which could be of Service to me in that Way. I therefore apply to you as the only Gentleman with whom I am acquainted who has Interest enough to serve me in that way; if you think me impertinent, beg you will impute it to the Favours I have already received from you, which induce me to think you would willingly oblige me in such a Trifle, & should it be attended with any Expences I will reimburse them as soon as I know what they are.

I dare not attempt to discribe to you any of these Islands as

* Andrew Rollo, fifth Baron Rollo (born 1700. died 1765), captured Dominica in June, 1761. and in February, 1762. took part under General Monckton in the capture of Martinique.

I know myself unequal to the Task, therefore conclude by subscribing with the sincerest Respect

Your most obedient & most hble. Serv^t.

J. S. Hobart.*

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

Agent for the Collony of Connecticut

In

London]

St. Eustatius 9^{ber}. 1st 1761

Sir

I did myself the Honour to write to you some time since from the Island of St^a. Croix by the Way of Copenhagen, which I hope will arrive safe, the Purport of which Letter was to desire you to recomend me to some Post in one of the Conquer'd Islands as I am determin'd to tarry some time in the West Indies. The great Humanity & Condesention with which I was formerly treated by you encourages me to hope that you will get a Place for me in which I may make an easy Fortune. Had I any Friend or Acquaintance who had Interest enough to serve me I would not be troublesom to you, but as I have none I beg you will assist me if possible, which if you don't, for ought I can see at present, I shall be condemn'd to spend my Days in these Islands, & I am sure no living Creature need envy my Situation, continually broiling from Morning till Night under the very Muzzle of the Sun, & that for a bare Subsistance only, without searc a probability of ever raising enough to return & live at ease at Home, which is the heighth of my Ambition.

We have rec'd an Account just this moment that y^e Griffin

* John Sloss Hobart, a son of the Rev. Noah Hobart, of Fairfield, Connecticut, was born in 1738, graduated at Yale College in 1757, and died in 1805: through the year 1756 he boarded in Mr. Ingersoll's family. Through his mother he inherited property on Long Island, where he settled soon after the date of these letters. He entered public life, and filled the offices of Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, United States Senator, and Judge of the U. S. District Court.

Frigate Cap^t Taylor was cast away two Days sine on Burbada[‡] when in Chase of two French Privateers, oweing it seems to the Obstanacy of the Cap^t. in Opposition to the Pilot, who gave up the Charge of the Ship.

We are in daily Expectation of an Armament from N. York to attack Martinique if not stop'd by a Peace.

When you have an Idle Hour on your Hands & can't bestow it any other Way beg you'll favour me with a Line. I'll not trouble you any longer only beg leave to subscribe

Sir

Your most humble

& most obedient Serv^t.

J. S. Hobart.

P. S. it seems that the acc^t. of the Griffin was brought by some of her Sailors & we are not certain but they make it in order to justify their Desertion.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

New York 26th. May 1762

Dear Sir

Being really concerned about the Money due to me from Mr Jedidiah Mills,† not only on Account of his surprizing Answer to one of my Letters on that Subject containing his Conjectures concerning the 2^d Beast mentiond in the Revelations, of which I acquainted you when here, but also from the Report that his Sons are considerably involved among our merchants, I must beg the favour of you, as soon after your receipt of this as possible, to write him a line informing him that I have desired you to issue Process against him & all the obligors in the two Bonds unless they are immediately discharged.

It is with reluctance that I am obliged to trouble the old

* Or Barbuda, a British island among the Leeward Islands, north of Antigua.

† Jedidiah Mills, born in 1697, and graduated at Yale College in 1722, was settled as pastor in Huntington, then part of Stratford, Connecticut, in 1724, and died there in 1776, leaving an estate of about £135.

Gentleman, but I must work so confounded hard for three or four hundred Pounds, that I can not in justice to my family take up with *theological Conjectures* in lieu of *lawful money*.

I inclose you Copies of both Bonds with the several receipts of the payments that have been made. I suppose the Copies will be sufficient to lay the Action, till you are obliged to give Over & perhaps he will pay the Money without the Originals upon your discharge. However if you must have the originals you will be pleased to inform me, & I will send them as soon as I return from the river Circuits.

With my Compliments to Mrs Ingersol & never forgetting Mr Whittlesey, I am

Your most humble Serv^t

Wil: Livingston.

[To

Jared Ingersol Esqr

At

New Haven

Connecticut]

New York 28 July 1762

D^r. Sir

I received yours of the 12th Instant, & it would be peculiarly agreeable to me to have it in my power to oblige you in the instance you mention, but I have not the least expectation of the office & can learn of no one that has made interest for it except M^r Dick Morris, who has not however any promise for it.* But whoever of my acquaintance may get it you may depend upon my interest to serve you in your request. . . .

I lately had a Letter from M^r. Mills with a payment of £50 upon which he desired me to direct you to stop proceedings, but as I think myself far from being secure by that payment & as he made the marvellous proposal of paying all his other debts

* Mr. Ingersoll was desirous of obtaining the appointment of Deputy for Connecticut of the Judge of the Court of Admiralty for New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

For his success in this object, see, also, p. 275.

first, the better to enable him to pay mine at last, I wrote him that I could not restrict you in any directions I had given you. . . .

With my compliments to your Family I am

Your most humble Serv^t.

Wil: Livingston

[To

Jared Ingersol Esq^r

at

New Haven

Connecticut]

New York, 19. Oc^r. 1762.

Dear Sir:

I receiv'd yours of the 12th Instant, and am greatly oblig'd to M^r. Mills for his opinion of my being so Ingenious a Gentleman as you are pleased to mention. But as I think that the Ingenuity of a man with nine Children ought to resemble what we are told of Charity, that it begins at home, I know of no other way to deserve M^r. Mills's Compliments than by shewing my Ingenuity in being so Ingenious as to use the Ingenuity of the Law in disappointing his Ingenuity which seems to consist in the most ingenious Contrivances to keep me out of the money in Perpetuity. You will therefore be pleased (instead of listning to so evil a Genius as proposeth a Security that shall only be liable on the happening of certain contingencies that may non plus the brightest Genius to produce proper Proofs of their having happened, that is a responsible Security which may never be responsible) Ingeniously to exert the utmost Efforts of your Ingenuity in applying the true Genius of the Law which abominates all such cunctatory & procrastinating Genius's as my Reverend Friend seems to be inspired with. I am,

Dr Sir:

Mr Mills's hitherto-most ingeniously disappointed
& your most affectionate & humble Ser^t.

Wil: Livingston.

P. S.—The spending an Evening at your fire side with my

good friend M^r Whittelsey, & each of our Ribs* wou'd really affect me with such singular pleasure as neither M^r. Mills's nor my Ingenuity is capable of expressing.

[To

Jared Ingersol Esq^r

In

New Haven]

LETTER OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Philad^a. Dec. 11, 1762

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your kind Congratulations.† It gives me Pleasure to hear from an old Friend, it will give me much more to see him. I hope therefore nothing will prevent the Journey you propose for next Summer, & the Favour you intend me of a Visit. I believe I must make a Journey early in the Spring to Virginia, but purpose being back again before the hot Weather. You will be kind enough to let me know beforehand what time you expect to be here, that I may not be out of the way: for that would mortify me exceedingly.

I should be glad to know what it is that distinguishes Connecticut Religion from common Religion:—Communicate, if you please, some of those particulars that you think will amuse me as a Virtuoso. When I travell'd in Flanders I thought of your excessively strict Observation of Sunday: and that a Man could hardly travel on that day among you upon his lawful Occasions, without Hazard of Punishment; while where I was, every one travell'd, if he pleas'd, or diverted himself in any other way: and in the Afternoon both high & low went to the Play or the Opera, where there was plenty of Singing, Fiddling & Dancing. I look'd round for God's Judgments but saw no Signs of them. The Cities were well built & full of Inhabitants, the Markets fill'd with Plenty, the People well

* Chauncey Whittelsey (Yale College 1738) was now a merchant in New Haven, and his wife and Mr. Ingersoll's were sisters.

† On Franklin's return from England, where he had been since 1757.

This letter has already been printed, in Bigelow's *Works of Franklin*, 1888, and Smyth's *Writings of Franklin*, 1906; but is here copied directly from the original.

favour'd & well clothed; the Fields well till'd; the Cattle fat & strong; the Fences, Houses and Windows all in Repair; and *no Old Tenor* anywhere in the Country; which would almost make one suspect, that the Deity is not so angry at that Offence as a New England Justice.

I left our Friend Mr. Jackson well. And I had the great Happiness of finding my little Family well when I came home; and my Friends as cordial & more numerous than ever. May every Prosperity attend you & yours. I am, Dear Friend,

Yours affectionately,

B. Franklin.

LETTER OF JUDGE RICHARD MORRIS.

New York Dec^r. 23^d: 1762

Sir,

I was honoured with your favour of the 17th. Instant this Morning: I had it not in my power to Answer M^r Livingston on his first Application, as I then only had an App^t. for this province. Since which I have Rec^d Advice from my friend of a Warrant being made out to the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty to make out a Commission to me for the three provinces, and when that Comes to hand I shall be under the Necessity of going as farr as Norwalk to Notifie the Governor of it and to publish it. I shall Endeavour to give you notice of it and shall be glad to meet you there, when I shall be proud to Appoint you as my Deputy for your Colony; this I told M^r Livingston who I am Obliged to for notifying you of it. Am Greatly Obliged to you for your kind Invitation and shall with pleasure Embrace it if I travell your Way. I am

Sir

Your Verry Hum^{bl} Serv^t *

Ri^d. Morris.†

[Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

att

New Haven]

* Richard Morris, born 1730, died 1810, received a degree from Yale in the Class of 1748. On August 2, 1762, he was commissioned as Judge of the Court of Admiralty for New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

LETTER OF DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

Killingworth Aug^t 9th 1762S^r

I receiv'd your Fav^r & note y^e Contents. I am apt to think y^r Sentiments are very Just. With regard to y^r Request from me, I have laid by y^e Weapons of my Warfare it is true, but not untill I obtain'd what I aim'd at, Viz to Convince the World that the President was an Asssuming, Arbitrary, Designing Man; who under a Cloak of Zeal for Orthodoxy, design'd to govern both Church & State, & Damn all who would not worship y^e Beast. I begun the Controversy when it was disreputable, to oppose one, esteem'd a Man of God. I was Alone; them who wish'd me well, dare not appear for me, but I was not thereby Intimidated. I have been Call'd all y^e Mean, Lying, Vilinous Rascals, by y^e Clergy, & their Dupes, that Religious Bigotry could suggest, But S^r I am alive, & I thank God I believe can be rely'd on further by y^e Better Sort of this Gover^t than the President & his Party with all their religious Chicanery.

if You now Undertake y^e Cause, you will engage at a time when it is reputable, & I wish you good success. As for materials I have now none. You if you will read my three last pamphlets will there find some stubborn Facts. I think it a very great Crime for him to draw mony out of y^e Pockets of Parents, by seducing Minors to Subscriptions for Air Pumps, Clocks, Pendulums &c. I do not know had you not Lead my good Father into a mistake with regard to y^e Last Corporation Meeting you might have Improv'd that to good purpose. Indeed I do not know but it may Still; it was no Corporation meeting, nor they could not make it a meeting at that time, if there was one Dissenter. Our Charter Enables y^e Gove^r to Call together, or in his Absence y^e Deputy Gov^r, the General Assembly; whenever y^e Gov^r Adjourns y^e Assembly Sine Die it is in fact a Dessolution. & we are adjourn'd in these words (till the Gov^r or in his Absence y^e Dep^y Gov^r sees fitt &c) placing y^e Power of Call^g y^e Assembly, where the Charter has fix'd it. y^e College Charter tells how a Corporation meeting is to be call'd, viz by y^e Presi-

dent & two Fellows. Now the President, that he might be like the Gods of the Nations that are round about him, had y^e Meeting adjourned sine Die till y^e President should see fitt &c. Now S^r the Corporation by vote could not place y^e Power of Call^s where y^e Charter had not Plac'd it. I ask Pardon for Assum^g y^r Province or rather Invading it. The Bearer Waits. I am Sincerely S^r

Your Hum^l. Serv^t

Benj^a Gale.*

[To

Jared Ingersol Esq^r

N Haven]

LETTER OF THOMAS BRIDGES.

Hedley Sept^r: 30th: 1762

Dear Sir,

I have received your favours of the 23^d of June last, which gave both me & M^{rs}: Bridges great Pleasure, to find that you were safely arrived at New Haven in Perfect Health, & have the Satisfaction of Enjoying the Company of Your Lady & son, from whence you have been so long absent, the joy of which none can be sensible off, but those that have experienced a long separation from those that are most dear to them. I do Assure you M^{rs}: Bridges & myself take it exceedingly Kind your remembring of us so soon, & that you are so good as to think

* Benjamin Gale (born 1715, died 1790), after graduation at Yale in 1733, studied medicine with the Rev. Jared Eliot, of Killingworth, a member of the Yale corporation, settled there in practice, and married Dr. Eliot's daughter.

He was a Deputy to the General Assembly of the Colony for many years; and between 1755 and 1760 printed several bitter attacks on President Clap of Yale College, whose attitude towards the formation of Separate congregations (like the White Haven Society in New Haven, and the Church in Yale College) was unwelcome to both Mr. Ingersoll and Dr. Gale.

Dr. Gale was a man of intense prejudices and violent partisanship. Though at first highly critical of the revolutionary attitude of the patriots in Eastern Connecticut, he ultimately gave a hearty support to the new government.

any of our Civilities worth your Calling to mind, which were no more than the Pleasure we had in your company doubly repaid us for; indeed this summer we have greatly missed you, tho we have often talk'd over the many agreeable hours we have Passed together, & particularly the little debates you & M^{rs}: Bridges had concerning your Prefering North America to Old England, & she is in hopes she shall some time or other see you and M^{rs}: Ingersoll come over & settle in Old England, notwithstanding you now seem to Prefer Newhaven to all the rest of the world. I conclude long before you receive this, you will have heard that M^r: Franklin the Elder, is returned to Philadelphia, without his son;* he left England about the latter end of July, & a few days after he was gone, the Young Gentleman took unto him a Wife, I will not leave you Guess who, for You cannot suppose it to be any other than his Old Flame in S^t: James's Street: we think the Lady has great luck on her side, to get a Smart Young fellow for her Husband, & the Honour of being a Governor's Lady, for I suppose it will be no news to you to Acquaint you that he is made Governor of New Jersey. I hear there was some difficulty in his being Confirmed in his place, for in our Consciencious Age, many Scruples were raised on account of his *being Illegitimate*, which we were Strangers to till very lately. I hear the Old Gentleman intends soon to bring over his *Lady* & Daughter to spend the remainder of their days in England; My Brother (who is now in Norfolk with my Father & Sister who are all well) I take for Granted you often hear from, so shall say no more of him, than y^t: he & the rest of the family will be in Town about the 20th of October, about which time shall also be in Town for a few days, & then proceed to Bath, not for my own health, (which, thank God, has been better than Usual this summer, & I had the gout more favourably last winter, than for some Years Past,) but for M^{rs}: Bridges's, who has been far from well, for above this Year past. She has consulted several Physicians who all advise the Bath; we are therefore determined to Try it, & am in great hopes it will be of Service to her.

* Governor William Franklin, son of Benjamin Franklin, was born in Philadelphia in 1729, and married Miss Elizabeth Downes, a West Indian lady, then residing in St. James Street, London, on September 5, 1762.

I must now congratulate you on the approaching Peace, which hope is not far off, & believe it would have been Settled before this time, had not all parties been desirous of first knowing the fate of the Havannah, the news of the taking of which arrived hear but last week; the Spaniards made a most noble defence, & our Army had made no Breach till the 29th day of July about two o'clock, when they sprung a mine which made one sufficient for a file of men to go abreast in; they immediately storm'd the Fort sword in hand & carried it, the Town surrendered by Capitulation Eleven days after: it is a most Glorious acquisition, & I hope it will be the means of our making an advantagious & lasting peace, tho some People are of Opinion it will not hasten one, as they suppose we shall require better Terms. The Duke of Bedford has been at Parris & the Duke de Nevernois at London for near this month past, about the salutary work, & I believe the Chief obstacle was on the Part of Spain, who believe never thought of our Succeeding at the Havannah. I assure you it gave me great peasure to hear of the wellfare of my Grey Horse. I hope his Colts will turn out to your satisfaction & the Gentlemen of the Country, & that he will mend your Breed; he was always a great favourit of mine, & a most excellent Servant, for he carried me very safely a Hunting for Seven Years. I should be Obligated to you to send me a few large Ears of Indian Corn, as I want to sow a little in my Garden by way of Tryal, but if it is attended with the least inconvenience beg you will not give yourself any Trouble about it. If M^{rs}: Bridges or I can be of any Service in Buying or Procuring you, or M^{rs}: Ingersoll, any thing you may want here, beg you will command us; we Both join in Compliments & best wishes of Health & Happiness to yourself, & Lady tho unknown, & am

Dear Sir

Your Most Sincere Friend
& Obedient Hble Servant

Tho^s: Bridges.*

* Thomas Bridges, died 1768, was a brother of Sir Brook Bridges, Baronet, of Goodneston, Kent, who was a Member of Parliament at this date: and a brother-in-law of Richard Jackson, Mr. Ingersoll's intimate friend.

P: S: when you are not better employed
 I shall always Esteem it a favour to
 hear from you.

Hedley Octr: 7th: 1762.

[To Jerrard Ingersoll Esq^r:

at New Haven

In the Province of Connecticut

in

North America

By the New York

Packet.]

LETTER OF GOV. WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Perth Amboy, July 22, 1763

Dear Sir

Your obliging Favour of the 7th. of April, I had not the Pleasure of receiving till a few Days ago. Where it could have been detain'd so long a Time I cannot conceive, unless it was sent to Burlington after my leaving it, & there kept in Expectation of my Return, which I intended upward of Six Weeks ago.

I should have been extremely glad to have seen my old Acquaintance Col. Whiting, by whom you mention your Letter to be sent, but I never heard of his being in Jersey.

If you should come to this Province, as you give me Reason to hope you may some time this Summer, it will afford me particular Pleasure to see you at Burlington, where I propose to reside.

M^{rs}. Franklin joins me in best Compliments to you, with many thanks for your kind Congratulations.

I am, with great Regard, Sir, Your most humble Servant

W^m. Franklin.

To J. Ingersall Esq^r

LETTERS OF JOSEPH CHEW.

Dear Sir

I thank you for your Letter by Cap^t. Miller. Your Behaviour at Hartford has answered my Expectations. I have on all occasions asserted you were two Honnest and had two great a regard for truth then to say one thing and mean another—in short that you would not Cringe, Twist and Turn Twenty ways to get into any post the Colony had to give. I wish all I know had the same noble Spirit; we should have Less Confussion then I think is Coming Fast upon us. I shall write you a Long Letter by Next Post. I find our Friend Col^o Dyer determind to Pursue the affair of Susquehanna.* I don't Expect to succeed, but will use Every argument I can to induce him to drop the thing as honnourably as he can—for I see no kind of Prospect he has of Coming of with Credit any other way; he writes me he is soon to set out for Phil^a. to Conver with M^r. Franklin, but I suspect I shall at Least diswade him from that, as I think he must know M^r Franklin will on no Terms interfere in any matter disagreeable to the Ministry—this it is Reasonable to innagine. I am

S^r

Your Affectionate

Jos Chew†

* Eliphalet Dyer (born 1721, died 1807) was graduated at Yale in 1740, and became a lawyer in his native town of Windham, Connecticut.

He was one of the leading promoters of the Susquehanna Company, formed in 1754 for the development of colonization in the Wyoming region in Pennsylvania, under the title of the Connecticut charter as fortified by a questionable treaty with the Indians. He went to England in 1764 in one of Mark Hunting Wentworth's mast ships to promote this business.

In 1765 he sympathized actively with the radical movement, centred at Windham, and was a delegate to the Stamp-Act Congress in New York; as a member of the Governor's Council he refused to remain in the Council chamber while the oath to observe the Stamp Act was administered to Governor Fitch.

† Joseph Chew was born in Spotsylvania County, Va., in 1720, but settled in New London, Connecticut, as a merchant before 1750, and held the position of Assistant to the Collector of the Port. In 1752 he acted as Marshal of the Vice-Admiralty Court held in New London to act on the Spanish Ship case, and took a prominent part in that affair.

At the time of the Revolution he sided with the British government.

New London }
June 8. 1763 }

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

at

New Haven]

Dear Sir

I Rec^d. your Letter by the post & shall forward that to Col^o Dyer, who I am very sorry to find so much Engaged in pursuing the Susquehanna affair. I find my name is mentioned in Phil^a & other places as a person who is much interested and has the success of the Company greatly at heart. Now God knows I only came into it out of a mere Banter, supposing it was to cost me about five or six Dollars only, & tho I found the Expence much more I did not trouble my self, as you and many others who I new to be good Company were engaged, & I expected we should have some Little Deversion for our Money. Since I was at S^r. W^m Johnsons, I think I must discover great want of Capacity to Entertain a thought of our Ever obtaining a Grant of those Lands By Virtue of the Indian Purchase—and you know what Pretentions our West Sea Charter can give us. I have a very great Respect for Col^o Dyer and would go very great Lengths to serve him, but at the same time think I should be much to Blame if I did not tell him my Real Sentiments, for which Reason I Last week wrote him a Letter. a Copy of which I now inclose to you, and Immagine it has quite Destroyed any Favourable opinion that infatuated Company might have Entertained of me. You'll not mention the affair of this Letter to any one. The Company Depend much on M^r Franklins Friendship and the Interest that I have with him to Introduce them. Was Ever any thing so Rediculous? supposing M^r Franklin had as much Friendship for me as one person Could have for another, is it Reasonable to think he would Carry it to such a Length as to Engage and Interest himself in an Affair of this kind at my desire? I rather think he would believe me forward & impertinent for giving him any trouble of the kind: &

that he may Imagine at Present, for what I know, as I am informed my name has been mentioned to him as a very warm Advocate for the Company. I daresay you'll agree with me that he has too much good sense and sound judgment to Concern himself with a matter of this kind, *Provided other Reasons did not weigh with him.* I Expect him this way soon and if I Can have notice when he is at New Haven propose to meet him there, when hope may have the Pleasure of half an hours Chat with you.

Every thing I hear from the Late Assembly Convinces me that the Religious Junto or those who assume that Carracter will throw this Colony into the greatest Confusion.* You Cannot imagine what pains this Party take and how their Disciples and Emissarys are dispersed thro' the Government. As I dare say you will be tired of this Epistle. . . . I am

Dear Sir

Your most obed^t serv^t

Jos Chew

New London, June 17th. 1763

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

[Enclosure in the last letter.]

D^r S^r.

Yesterday I Rece^d a Letter from M^r Franklin who is now on his journey this way, but as he will make some stay in New York 'tis uncertain whether he will be here before the last of the month. When he Comes I shall advise you of it and as he will stay some days theres no doubt but you will have an opportunity of seeing him. I have seen the speech deliver'd by the Deputys of the Six Nations and the Governors Answer, both Printed and much to the Purpose. I assure you I begin to Entertain a very Poor opinion of the Success of the Susquehanna Company, and

* At the May Session of the General Assembly of the Colony, Mr. Ingersoll had appeared as senior counsel of certain gentlemen who presented a Memorial, asking for a Committee of Visitation for Yale College, on the ground of a general discontent with the administration of President Clap.

by what I can gather from Persons of the first Carracter the very mention of it is odious to the Crown & Ministry, and I believe those who Exert themselves most will not only gain the Displeasure of the great on the other side the water, but of many in Power in the Colonys. My Situation in Life is such that I think it my duty to steer Clear of any thing that may tend to that Purpose—for tho' I am not immediately appointed by the Crown to the small Posts I injoy, I Receive them from Persons who will by no means incourage any one who would be troublesome. Since this Speech of the Indians I have had an Opportunity of seeing many Gentlemen, no ways Concerned, who all say that it appears to them the Purchase if Ever made was a very unfair one, that if it had been made Ever so fairly & the Indians were sick of the Bargain the Crown would be in favour of them, that theres not Even a Prospect of its Ever being Granted by the Crown, and in short that one word from Sir W^m Johnson, whose duty it is to set the matter in the most Clear Light, will have more weight with the King, Privy Council and Parliament then the oaths of ten thousand such unknown Witnesses as we have to the Deed obtained by Lydius.* My best friends at N York are of opinion I should by no means intermeddle about this affair unless with a View to discourage it, and as I most sincerely interest myself in Every thing which Concerns you I wish from my heart you was fairly clear of the matter. Indeed if you are well paid I should prefer your Vissiting England at the Companys Expençe before any other Person—but am fearfull when they find their Golden Dreams Vanish, as they surely will, they may, as they are Composed of the same unsteady materials of the Rest of Mankind, throw all the Blame on you and Charge you with Countinancing and Incouraging them in this Pursuit. Believe me, my Dear Sir, these Reasons are the Result of the Best advice I could get from those friends who I am in a great measure dependant upon, and my

* Sir William Johnson was widely recognized as the leading representative of the British government in negotiations with the Indians: while John Henry Lydius, on whose treaty obtained from a few inferior natives Connecticut relied, was a man of unreliable character.

own serious Reflections. However as I expect to see you soon will then talk the matter over better than it Can be wrote.

I am &c

N London June 9th 1763

A Copy of a Letter sent to Col^o Dyer

Dear Sir

I have been so much from home that I have not had time to send you the Lists of Shipping &c, but will by the Next Post. Col^o Dyer Leaves Windam Next Monday for Portsmouth, there to embark on Board a Mast Ship for London—in order to obtain a Charter for the Susquehanna Country in which S^r W^m Johnson and you are not to have any Share—at Least I immagine so; from the Present very great disputes and unset-tled State of the Ministry as well as the Indian Disputes believe he had better have waited a Little Longer.

Pray give me your opinion of the Court and tell me what your friend M^r Jackson says, whose opinion & sentiments I depend much upon, and you may be sure not one word shall transpire from me. Make M^{rs} Chews & my Respects acceptable to good M^{rs} Ingersoll. Accept the same from

Dear Sir

Your Affect.

Jos Chew

New London July 27th. 1763

Yours of the 19th has been Carried to N port in that mail & only this moment Come to hand. The hott weather occasion'd M^r Franklin's going by watter to N port. There I saw him and he thinks as you and I do of Susquehanna &c. &c. Col^o Dyer says he is sure of his firm Friendship &c. in that affair. The Col^o has said that the Deputies at Hartford from the Six nations &c are in his opinion no more than Vagabond Mohawks,*

* For the visit of the Mohawk Deputies to Hartford in May, 1763, see Stone's *Life of Sir W. Johnson*, v. 2. pp. 185-89.

who S^r W^m Johnston hired or sent to deliver that Speech in order to intimadate & Prevent the Settlement. I was very free with him and assured him I would write to S^r. W^m. and acquaint him of the Report. As only Col^o Fitch* & a few friends were Present I would not Choose for Col^o Dyers sake it should be mentioned, but I will give you the whole history Next Post.

D^r S^r

Yrs

Jos Chew.

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

at

New Haven]

New London Aug^t. 10th 1763

Dear Sir

Col^o. Dyer is gone for Boston and is there to take his Passage to London, and is quite sure of Returning with a Charter or Charters for the Greatest Part if not all the Lands to the West Sea's. The Col^o. told me he saw M^r. Franklin who was Extreemly friendly and very much approved of the Settlement. Upon inquiry I find the Col^o. met with M^r. Franklin at Greenwich, where the Latter was Confined with a hurt occasioned by a Fall from his Chair. They were only about two hours together and never saw Each other before, but this was time Enou^g to discover that Gent^{ls}. Sentiments—who you know is not apt to Communicate them very soon. This I know, M^r Franklin told me it was uncertain whether he saw Col^o. Dyer or not, and desired me to let him know his Errant would be to no Purpose unless the Indians were Really willing for the Settlement, and *more* that the ministry would Expect to Receive an Acc^o. of their being willing from S^r. W^m Johnson, the Person they imployed here in matters Relating to Indians—that if we Expected a Governm^t. and to obtain a Charter we should be

* Eleazer Fitch (born 1726, died 1796), of Windham, a graduate of Yale in 1743, a year after Mr. Ingersoll.

disappointed—that our Claiming all the Lands to the West Seas was Idle and Ridiculous—that no Person could pretend to think it Consistant wth. Common Sence to have a Governm^t 60 miles wide & 3000 miles Long—and many things of the kind. I am Surprized when I think of the strange Bustle this affair has made and at the Little Reason there is ever to expect any thing from it. Col^o. Dyer does not doubt of having the Land &c. The Post waits; pray give M^{rs} Chews and my very sincere Respect to good M^{rs}. Ingersoll. Accept the same from D^r S^r.

Your Affect. Obed^t Serv^t

Jos Chew.

LETTERS OF COL. ELIPHALET DYER.

London Nov^r 3^d 1763

Dear S^r

Ariv^d at this place after about Seven Weeks passage. It is now near four weeks since my Arival. Have had my health very well ever since have been in London. I find M^r Jackson* Vastly friendly and agreeable and as yet have acquainted only him with my affairs. He advises not to be Sudden in my Applications, as it is very uncertain at present who will be the persons in Power after y^e Sitting of the Parliament, which will be y^e 15th Instant, as the present Ministry are not Suposd to be permanent. M^r Jackson Informs me the Ship for New London to take in your Masts will saile from hence In January next. I should much rejoice to see you here, which shall Expect in that Ship if not before. Have nothing of News of Consequence to write you at present; this is only Just to let you know of my Arival and that I am in good Comfortable Spirits. Have taken very agreeable handsome Lodgings at the Upper End

* Richard Jackson was the London Agent of the Colony of Connecticut from 1760 to 1771. Yale College conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in 1773.

of Lancaster Court^{**} near S^t Martins Church, first stair, consisting of a large Dining room, bed Chamber & dressing room, all Neatly furnish^d., and Enjoye my self as well as can be expected considering Absence from my Dear family and friends. You will not forget to write me by y^e York Packets as was stipulated. Youll excuse my brevity as have many Letters to write & y^c Ship very soon to sail. Remember me with proper regards to particular Friends & Enquirers. My respects to M^{rs} Ingersol and believe me S^r Y^r.

Very H^{le} Serv^t

Elipht Dyer.

To Jared Ingersol Esq^r.

London 14th April 1764

D^r, S^r

I reciev^d yours of y^e 27th of February yesterday, and as I know you while here often had the pleasing Sensation that arises on the receipt of a kind letter from a friend or an Acquaintance from your Native Country, it is Needless to Inform you with what pleasure I reciev^d yours. What I wrote you before am very uncertain as it was in Utmost hast & took no Copy thereof, but it being soon after my arrival every thing here was then new, which Now in y^e Course of six months seems very familiar. I have since frequently attended all the Courts att Westminster, Viz. Chancery, B: R: C: B[†] Court of Exchequer and especially when any Cause of Consequence has been depending, M^r Wilkes^s among y^e rest, fm Nine of y^e Clock in y^e morning till 12 at Night, an account of which you have doubtless had in y^e publick papers. Also was in House of Lords at y^e opening the Parliament, heard the King Deliver his Speech, & have been there sundry times since; have frequently attended the House of Commons & have often heard their best Speakers on affairs of Consequence, & have Especially

* A short street running north from the Strand, a few doors to the left from Charing Cross.

† Bancus Regis, King's Bench: Common Bench. or Common Pleas.

attended there when the affairs that Concern^d the Colonys were under Consideration, tho on those arose no great debate as they seem^d almost universally agreed to whatever was propos^d. by M^r Greenville to lay upon them, the particulars of which have lately wrote Gov^r Fitch, as also a Copy of the Resolves therein, as also to sundry others, the particulars of which doubt not but you will have before this comes to hand. As to the King & Queen have very often seen them, as I make a point of it almost every Week to make my appearence att Court att S^t James^s. Was att y^e Ball one of y^e most Brilliant after y^e Nuptials of y^e Prince of Brunswick & Princess Augusta, present King, Queen, y^e Royal family, Nobility, Gentry &c: & so in General at Court once a Week, att Church once a Week, at play near as often. I have seen often both Commedys & Tragedies, Operas, Oratorios, Burlettas, Balls & Ridottoes*, & lately at Renelaugh, & expect soon at Vauxhall &c &c as beside giving my Principall Attention to y^e affair I come upon, as also when have an opportunity to say a word or two in favour of y^e Colonys, especially that to which I belong, I make it my Indevour to see & hear whatever seems of any Consequence to a Stranger. Have been at Bristol & Bath: expect next week with Gen^l Lyman, M^r Trumble† &c &c, an agreeable party, to take a Trip to New Market, Cambridge &c; but to descend into Particulars would be Tedious. M^r Jackson has been Vastly kind, complaisant, friendly, & agreeable, and for whom I have the highest Value & Esteem, & indeed Esteem him of more Consequence than all y^e other Agents for y^e Continent, as according to my present apprehension he appears not only most knowing, but heartily Engag^d. for the Interest of the Colonies, tho by the way you are sensible he is in the Interest of the present Ministry, & as such believe by his Influence y^e propos^d Stamp duty is at present postponed. Dear S^r it would give me singular pleasure to see you here, before my return, as also my Dear friend Sam^l

* Ridotto, an assembly or entertainment, with music and dancing.

† Phineas Lyman (Yale 1738) had recently gone to England to apply for a tract of land for the settlement of the officers and soldiers in the late war. Joseph, son of Governor Trumbull, was then in England.

Johnson.* Indeed it would Induce me to tarry here some months rather than to miss the opportunity, tho if you tarry for your Mast Ship you will not be here before late Next fall, as she is not yet gone from y^e Downs. As I came over in the Mast Ship I gain'd Considerable Intelligence of what might be Expected to hinder Success in your Scheme & plan about the Mast affair, & very soon acquainted M^r Jackson therewith, of which I suppose he has long Since wrote you; was in hopes you would not have waited for the arrival of your Mast Ship before you had Set out for England, if you had a design still to prosecute that affair, for I have y^e greatest reason to believe that M^r Hennika† & others in Contract with M^r Wentworth are Determin'd to break all your measures & frustrate your designs, as they have allready Indeavour'd to propagate an Opinion that the Masts you have got & prepar'd to send here are good for Nothing for that purpose, & will not half pay y^e freight, and doubt not they will Indeavour to procure the Inspecters here, who are much under their influence, even to say the same when they arrive, let them be ever so good; this I mention that you may be Sufficiently guarded against all those Vile Attempts &c.

You mention that the Guard Le Coasta‡ sent Alarm the Trading port &c: it is but the beginning of Troubles, as it seems determin'd to fix upon us a large Number of regular

* "Samuel Johnson." familiarly so called, was the Hon. William Samuel Johnson (Yale Coll. 1744), of Stratford.

† John Henniker was a merchant of London and a member of parliament for Sudbury, Suffolk, 1761-1768, and Dover, 1774-1784. He was interested in the American trade and served as a sub-contractor for masts under the royal mast contractor, Mark Hunting Wentworth, brother of Governor Benning Wentworth and father of Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire. With his father-in-law and business partner, John Major (afterwards Sir John), he was engaged in supplying provisions for the British troops in America and with Governor John Wentworth was interested in obtaining land grants in Nova Scotia. His intimacy with Governor Wentworth appears from the fact that the latter, from motives of personal friendship, caused the town of Henniker, New Hampshire, to be named for him, at the time of its incorporation, November 10, 1768. Henniker became a baronet in 1781, and in 1800 was created Baron Henniker of Stratford upon Slaney, County Wicklow. He died in 1803 at the age of 78.

‡A Spanish vessel sent to prevent smuggling.

Troops under pretence for our Defence; but rather design'd as a rod & Check over us, & are determin'd to raise a fund in America for their Support, at first by dutys on Trade as being y^e least alarming, a Stamp duty propos'd but for y^e present postpon'd, a direct & possitive tax is not Scrupled & believe will be soon attempted. M^r Grenville* strongly urg'd not only the power but right of Parliament to tax y^e Colonys, & hop'd in Gods Name as his Expression was that none would dare dispute their Sovereignty; but much has been said here by Agents & others from y^e Continent, but to but very little purpose, & fear all the United Indeavours of y^e Colonys will not Avert the Impending blow.

How far on my return I may be helpful (as you hint) in Law affairs &c is very uncertain, as I cannot bare the thought at present of going into that Slavish practice again on my return, but if can find any other way to live, rather retire with my wife & children & in some rural way spend y^e remainder of my days, tho' if we could find out an easier way of Practice similar to y^e Counsellors here and a little more gainfull, might possibly be Induced further to pursue the business. Have very lately wrote my Friend M^r Johnson, but my sincere regards to him & to M^r and M^{rs} Darling, M^r Whiting &c. Remember me to y^e Brethren when you meet together. Regards to all enquiring friends. My respects to M^{rs} Ingersol and believe me S^r with utmost Sincerity

Your Obed^t & Very H^{le} Serv^t

Eliph^t Dyer.

P. S. As to the Susqh & Delaware affairs I am here upon, have nothing Special to write you but must referr you for Information to the Com^{tee} to whom have often wrote, tho' in general can say the affair here is not lookd upon or Treated in that despicable manner as by Some was pretended would be.

You mention in yours that those Settlers on Susqh are partly killd & partly Captivated, tho understand by Other letters not

* [Note by Mr. Dyer.] M^r Grenville is Chancellor of the Exchequer, first Lord of y^e Treasury.

by y^e neighbouring Indians but by some more remote; but I am Sorry for their misfortune but understand it sav'd the Government the Trouble of driving them off. Am your &c

E Dyer.

Jared Ingersol Esq^r

LETTER OF THOMAS WHATELY.

Dear Sir,

I am ashamed to see a Letter from you of a date so old that I dare not acknowledge it; & I hope you have forgot it: yet I was highly flatter'd to perceive that you remember'd me, in so remote a Quarter of the World; I have not y^e Presumption to imagine you will be equally pleas'd to hear that such a one as myself, on the other Side the Great Lake, often recollects the many chearful Days we have pass'd together, & always recollects them with pleasure. It will not however raise any disagreeable Ideas to be reminded of them; you tell me you wish sometimes to dine at the Crown & Anchor,* provided you could take a Chair after dinner to New Haven: I had rather be of that party, than of any we were ever engaged in together, and often build a Castle something like it, within whose Walls I constantly include your hospitable Mansion: I wish, but I can only wish, that I could spend a twelvemonth amongst my American friends: Temple† would make me welcome at Boston; I should rely on your friendship in Connecticut; & I would not disgrace mine Host by English Libertinism; I am a Chip you know of the old Block; my Great Grandfather at the farthest was an Oliverian: & his Posterity is not so degenerated but that I could look as demurely on Sundays, or bundle as merrily on the Week Days, as any the best of the

* The Crown & Anchor tavern, on the east side of Arundel Street, Strand, was also at this date a haunt of Dr. Johnson and his circle.

† John Temple (born in Boston in 1732, died in New York in 1798) had obtained in 1760 through the influence of his distant kinsman, George Grenville, the office of Surveyor-General of Customs for the Northern District of America. He inherited an English baronetcy in 1786.

Puritans: you would not insist on equal Sanctity at New York & Lord Stirling* would expect a little less: We have lost poor Morris† I find to receive me in the Jerseys: but I should meet with another friend in^o Hamilton‡ at Philadelphia: Do not you think I have plann'd an agreeable Tour? Seriously I would execute it, if I could do as I would; but I am confin'd to the spot where you found me, where you left me, & where I flatter myself you will some time or other find me again: My only Remove has been from one End of the town to the other: M^r Grenville's favour has made me Secretary to the Treasury; a Place of too much Business to be compatible with any other: I have therefore quitted the Bar & am now immers'd in Politics, Parliament, and Revenue. During the Winter I have been really too much employ'd to write a single Letter, which I was not obliged to write: The Recess of Parliament gives me a little more Leisure, & you are one of the first who are sensible of its Effects. Wedderburn§ still continues at y^e Law & has all y^e reason in the World to continue there. He has distinguish'd himself as a Speaker in the House; he meets with y^e Success he deserves in his profession: is already Kings Counsel & will be in a few Years (I had almost said) whatever he pleases to be I often see our friend Jackson & from him have frequently heard of your Welfare: His Knowledge in American Affairs is of public Use, when America is become so much the

* William Alexander, of New York City, born in 1726, and the heir to a large fortune, had visited England in 1756-60, posing as a claimant to the Earldom of Stirling.

† Robert Hunter Morris, Chief Justice of New Jersey, and at one time (1753-1756) Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, born about 1700, died in January, 1764.

‡ James Hamilton, twice Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania (1748-1753, 1759-1763), born about 1710.

§ Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards known as Baron Loughborough (born 1733, died 1805), exchanged the Scottish for the English bar in 1757, and entered Parliament in 1761. In 1770, with an eye to legal advancement, after ardently professing Whig principles, he became an equally ardent supporter of Lord North, and after other preferments received the lord chancellorship in 1793. In 1774, as Solicitor General, he made himself conspicuous by his scurrilous invective at the examination of Franklin before the Privy Council.

Object of the Attention of Ministry. Many Regulations both with regard to its Settlement & its Revenue have already been made: by this time I suppose you are apprized of them: & you would oblige me greatly by informing me of the Reception they meet with in your part of the World, & much more by communicating to me your own free Sentiments upon them: I should be happy to know y^e genuine Opinion of sensible Men in the Colonies upon Subjects equally interesting both to them & to us: You know I always from Inclination interested myself in their Prosperity: My present Situation necessarily employs me often in their Affairs: & I therefore am anxious to get all the Information I can in relation to them. All new Taxes are open to Examination; & I should be glad to know what you & your people think of those that have been imposed this Session: Their produce is doubtful; perhaps you may make a Guess at it so far as your province is concern'd; but certainly these will not be sufficient to defray that Share of y^e American Expence which America ought & is able to bear: Others must be added: What they will be, will in some degree depend on the Accounts which will be received from thence: A Stamp Act has been proposed: Its produce would be great as is generally supposed here, from y^e great Number of Law Suits in most of y^e Colonies: but it was not carried into Execution, out of tenderness to them, & to give them time to furnish y^e necessary Information for this, or to suggest any better Mode of Taxation. Would it yield a considerable Revenue if the Duty were low upon mercantile Instruments, high upon gratuitous Grants of Lands, & moderate upon Law Proceedings? Would y^e Execution of such a Law be attended with great Inconveniencies, or open to frequent Evasions which could not be guarded against? At least, it must be allow'd to be as general an Imposition as can be devised: & in that respect seems preferable to a Tax upon Negroes, which would affect y^e Southern much more than y^e Northern Colonies, tho' that on the other hand would be more easily collected & less liable to Evasion. If either of these would be very exceptionable can you suggest any other? You will highly oblige me by furnishing me with any Information

relative to y^e Revenue, to the Regulations necessary against Smuggling & the Effect of those already made, & to any other point that concerns the Colonies: I am anxious on the Subject myself & I can find Opportunities to make good Use of any Information I receive. My Earnestness about it has you see hurried me into a long Letter

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obed^t humble Serv^t

Thomas Whately.*

LETTER TO THOMAS WHATELY.

N Haven 6th July 1764

D^r Sir,

I duly rec^d your favour of the ——— (tis not Dated) two Days ago—am Charmed with the American tour you so agreeably plan out & can only Join in the most hearty wish that the same could be carried into Execution.

as I expect to see you soon in London I shall hope for the pleasure of having an opportunity to say a thousand things to you on the Score of friendship & which I will therefore pass by at present & proceed directly to the business part of your Letter.

You Desire my opinion upon the late Act of trade,† & upon the proposed taxations which respect America, as also such information of facts &c as have fallen within my Observation. This task I shall readily undertake for his Sake who asks it of

* This letter was printed in part in Mr. Ingersoll's *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*, pp. 1-5.

He has written on the original: "I gave y^e Gov^r a Copy of this Letter when he was writing ag^t y^e Stamp Act, also shew it to many people."

The letter was written late in April, 1764 (Parliament rose on April 19).

The writer, an uncle of Archbishop Whately, was an active politician and Member of Parliament, in the close confidence of George Grenville, under whom he was Secretary of the Treasury in 1764-65; he prepared the draft of the Stamp Act.

† By the "late act of trade" is meant the Sugar Act of 1764.

me, in doing which you may depend on the Strictest truth Even tho' it should offend.

I must tell you then that I think the Parliament have over-shot their mark & that you will not in the Event have your Expectations in any measure answered from the provisions of the late Act. I myself am not in trade nor ever was, nor have the people of y^e Colony I live in ever carried on any trade with the foreign West Indias worth mentioning; my Neighbours of N York, R Island & Boston have very considerably; tis from these & from a Constant Observation that I have collected the knowledge I have in these matters. I am of opinion that the foreign Molasses will bear a Duty of One penny half penny at most, the raw or brown Sugar 2/6 & y^e Clayed 5/ p^r C^t.; the reasons of this Opinion must you know be built upon y^e Supposition that the price of y^e Commodities with which these articles are purchased, the price of the Articles themselves & the price they will bear at a foreign market all taken together, will not leave any profit to the Merchant in case a greater or higher Duty is laid. I know it is difficult Especially for me to get a precise & full knowledge of these particulars,—but this I think I do know that those who have been the most Conversant in the trade are of that Opinion. I learn this not from their Declarations merely but from their Conduct. Interest seldom lies; tis most certain I believe that the trade to the french & Dutch West Indies is failing & dying very fast & that there is not a single Voyage of that Sort planned with the most Distant intention to pay the Dutys. This brings me to remark upon one of your queries, viz. whether Smuggling can be Easily prevented here. I answer no. My reasons are, the Coast is very Extensive—Custom house officers placed from 20 to 60 or more miles distant one from another—very good harbours upon y^e Coast Every 6, 8 or 10 Miles—a plenty of Inhabitants & no Land waiters, y^e trade indeed would not Support any—some of the Sea and Land Custom officers themselves perhaps a little remiss, which generally will be the Case. I might add the impossibility of y^e Guard Costas Cruising to any Advantage in y^e winter—the Consequence will be that a Seizure will be made of

perhaps one Vessell in a hundred, but I verily believe there wont be Enough Collected in y^e Course of ten years to Defray y^e expence of fitting out one the least frigate for an American Voyage, & that the whole Labour will be like burning a Barn to roast an Egg. Was the Duty lowered to where I have mentioned the Merch^t. would pay it without any men of war to Compell him to it—he would pay it rather than run the risque of y^e Custom house officer alone & partly by reason of his having been used to pay a Sum not much short of that. Perhaps 'tis the Intention of Parliament that the Duty should amount to a prohibition of y^e trade—why they should Aim at that indeed I cannot conceive with the Ideas I now have of things. You may think me mad for saying it, but I do say, that tis my opinion the Parliament of y^e two had better have given a premium than to have imposed the Duty they have laid upon that branch of trade. I dont mean to say that I think it would be good policy to do either, but y^e former I believe would have been less impolitick than y^e Later. What is the amount & Effect of that trade but the turning our horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, wheat, oats, Indian corn & Lumber of all sorts into Cash, & turning the same, & which we can in no other way turn, into the hands of the British Merchant in payment for British manufactures. I have lately travailed through the interior parts of this & New York Province & every where found the farmer complaining that he could not Sell his wheat &c. The English West-Indians by monopolising (their great object) the above trade have so lowered y^e prices of y^e Several articles abovementioned that the Merchant here cannot buy them without loss, nor can they be raised by y^e farmer so as to answer; indeed the English West-Indians cannot take of the half of what we raise & have to spare. There is certainly a very considerable revulsion in y^e body politick here & the more wealthy Merchants in N York & Boston have turned their thoughts seemingly in Earnest from Navigation to the Encouraging our own Manufactures, urging y^e absolute necessity of it. They have actually Entered into Associations, have advanced monies & set numbers of hands to Spinning, have Erected

works for the Distilling of Corn Spirits, are planning ways & means for the increase of the Stock of Sheep in this Country & have gone so far as actually to send to Europe for Artificers in the several branches of Woolen & Linnen manufacture. Perhaps you will think this is all a mere feint—as to that I can say nothing, I do but narrate facts as they come to my knowledge.

You will admit tis hard to be obliged to make brick without Straw. I wish I knew how & by what means we are to pay for the British manufactures which we are expected to purchase. We are as gay & Expensive as we possibly can be & only want the means to be more so in order to our increasing in Luxury. We have a little pig iron, & may possibly get into the way of raising hemp. I am doing all in my power to Encourage both, but you know how hard it is to get y^e people to go into any new method of Labour, but if we had these & a thousand more means of remittance, still if the additional one of y^e trade with the foreign West Indies be advantageous to both you & us, why should it not be gone into? But I will stop. I find I am insensibly got into a Debate with you instead of informing you. I long to see you & please myself much in the Expectations I have that you & my friend M^r. Jackson & other Gentlemen on y^r Side y^e water will be able to tell me of some facts & acquaint me with some reasonings upon these Subjects which I am at present a Stranger to, & that will dispel those Clouds of Darkness that now hang over my mind:—in short that I shall receive a kind of New Sense, & see things in a quite different light from what I do now: & you must know some think this would be very agreeable to me, for I am so much an Englishman, so much an Advocate for you on your side the water, especially since my acquaintance with you, & at y^e same time am, they think, so unhappily void of all Puritanism that I have very much bro^t. upon me the Jealousy of my own Country men—they suspect me of being rather too much a favourer of Court interest. Let them say what they please of me here or there, truth shall be my guide & dictate all I say & do.

What shall I Answer to your queries relative to the proposed

internal taxation of America? You say America can & ought to Contribute to its own defence; we one & all say y^e same on this Side y^e water—we only differ about the means; we perhaps should first of all Rescind great part of the present Expence & what remains should difray by the Application of our own force & Strength; but the Subject is large & the principles of it nice & delicate. I will only remind you that our people dont yet believe that the British Parliament really mean to impose internal taxes upon us without our Consent, especially y^e people of this Colony who beside their Charter of Priviledge granted them by K. Ch. 2^d. have, they say, planted themselves & subsisted hitherto without one farthings Expence to y^e Crown, except what the Nation was pleased to give to them in Common with their neighbours in the last war. They are however still doing at y^e Kings call, & that without Expectation of reward, & when they have no immediate frontier of their own to Defend, tho' they had in y^e Days of their Infancy. If the King should fix the proportion of our Duty, we all say we will do our parts in y^e Common Cause, but if the Parliament once interpose & Lay a tax, tho' it may be a very moderate one, & the Crown appoint officers of its own to Collect such tax & apply y^e same without Acc^o., what Consequences may, or rather may not, follow? The people think if the precedent is once established, Larger Sums may be Exacted & that at a time when the same shall be less needed, & that in short you will have it in your power to keep us just as poor as you please.

The peoples minds not only here but in the neighbouring Provinces are filled with the most dreadful apprehensions from such a Step's taking place, from whence I leave you to guess how Easily a tax of that kind would be Collected; tis difficult to say how many ways could be invented to avoid the payment of a tax laid upon a Country without the Consent of the Legislature of that Country & in the opinion of most of the people Contrary to the foundation principles of their natural & Constitutional rights & Liberties. Dont think me impertinent. Since you desire Information, when I tell you that I have heard Gentlemen of the greatest property in Neighbouring Governments say,

Seemingly very Cooly, that should such a Step take place they would immediately remove themselves with their families & fortunes into some foreign Kingdom.

For my own part I Vent no such Speeches & have a full persuasion that so respectable a body as y^e British Parliament wont do any thing that is unjust or wrong—perhaps I may be Convinced of the propriety as well as necessity of such a Step. I can at least see great difficulty in any supposed method of Carry-ing [to ?] an End the Kings Affairs & y^e necessary operations in America, was I left to devise y^e same my self, & have a fixt Confidence that English wisdom & Justice will ultimately fall upon the best measures to accomplish their Ends. You see I am quite prevented suggesting to you which of y^e Several methods of taxation which you mention woud be y^e best or least Exceptionable, because I plainly perceive that every one of them or any supposable one, other than such as shall be laid by the Legislative bodies here, to say no more of Em, would go down with y^e people like Chopt hay. A thousand tho^{ts}. here occur to me. I want to say & to hear you say upon this Subject much more than will do to put into a Letter. I will therefore finish when I have told you that I sincerely wish you was Master of Every useful fact relating to these Subjects, not doubting but the best Use would be made of such Knowledge.

I know you admit with Caution any Evidence you receive upon these points from Americans. There is some reason for y^e Distrust. I wish you maynt be in Equal danger of being deceived by Acc^{os}. receiv^d. from seemingly more disinterested hands. Time & Experience will shew you who are in the right: when those have happened Remember what I have told you. I forgot to tell you that I have no Objections to the Duty upon Wines; I believe we shall drink a little less than we used to do & honestly pay the Duty for that which we shall have. But why we maynt Carry Lumber directly to Ireland at present remains a very great mystery to me, Especially as that Article is so necessary for Stowage, with the important Article of flax-seed.*

* Limitations on the importation of wines and exportation of lumber were imposed by the trade acts of 1765 and 1766.

I impatiently wait y^e Arrival of y^e Mast Ship in which I mean, God willing, to take passage for England. She has been out a long time & is hourly expected. . . . If you are willing let M^r. Jackson see this Letter, as I know he will be able to Correct me if I have mistook in some of its particulars.

I am S^r.

Y^r. Most Obed^t.

Humb^l Serv^t.

J. Ingersoll*

Tho. Whately Esq^r.

Joint Secret^y. to y^e Treasury

LETTER OF COL. NATHAN WHITING.

Charles Town Sep^r 22^d 1763

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure to tell you I Arrived at Cape Fear about the 10th Augustus. After waiting there Some time for a passage by water I at Length came by Land. Tis about 200 hundred Miles, most of the way through a pine Sandy plain, the Country unsettled, Except now and then on Rivers there are Rice plantations, and Indigo on the Upland. This Town is pleasantly enough Situated on a point of Land between the Rivers Cooper & Ashly. There is but one way out of Town, that a Level Sandy path planted with pines: the Road is agreable enough for once, but tis the Constant Sameness over and over again, as much as you have at Sea; the Orange Gardens are pleasant, but dont exceed our Orchards of Aples, Pairs, peaches &c, and dont afford such Variety of Agreable fruit, nor such Delicious fragrant Smells as our Orchards when in blossom. There is not here that Variety of fruit that our Autumn affords, Sower Oranges being the principal. The weather about the Middle of this Month was Excessive hot, but what makes the hot

* This letter, published in the *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*, is here printed from the rough copy among Mr. Ingersoll's papers.

weather disagreeable is there are not the Regular Sea breezes here: some Days there is scarcely Air enough to breath in; them few Days affected me a good deal; tis here they tell you more disagreeably hot than the West Indias. The weather for this two or three Days past has been very Comfortable. I this morning found a fire very agreeable at Breakfast. The fine Season is now Coming on; they tell me tis one of the finest Winter Countrys in the World. The Gentlemen are Generally free & Polite, take a good deal of Notice of Strangers and entertain well; the Ladys are Generally well made, are delicate and may be Called handsome, and are sprightly and gay.

The difference between the Assembly and Governor* is at a high Pitch; they were called since I have been here, and they adhere to their Resolution which was first made eight months ago of doing no business with the Governor; they were obliged however to choose a Speaker (as the old one was at the Northward) and present to the Governor for his Approbation, which they could not avoid as they could not exist without. They have been Brot into Several Dilemmas, particularly to Qualify Several New Members to take their Seats; the Rule is when the Member is returned, he takes what they Call the qualifying oaths before the House: than it has been Customary for the House to send two of their Members, with the new Member, to the Governor to acquaint him Such a one is duely returned & Qualified & to desire him to administer the State oaths to the Member, which they were to see & Report to the House. To Finess the Governor they avoided ordering two Members to go with formality, & only desired two Members to go with the New one and be by to see the Governor administer the State oaths. The Governor, who is a Man of Spirit and Sense, immediately asked them if they had any Message to him from the House; they answered they had not but came there by desire of the House to see the Member take the State oaths. The Governor desired them to withdraw & then told the New Member that he

* For a further statement of the controversy between Governor Thomas Boone and the South Carolina Assembly, see Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province*, pp. 339-349.

was not properly acquainted with his being a Member, but that he would administer the oaths to him as a private Gentleman. They have had several such Contests & the House refuse to do any business with the Governor. All Publick business is at a Stand. The House have now Petition^d the King for Redress. They had a Long debate whether their Appeal was not to be made to the Parliament; it was finally determined it must be to the Crown. M^r Boone is a Man of a Nice & quick Sensibility and has a fortune of his own that Renders him Independent of them, so that he wont give up an Ace of his prerogative, and they in their turn dont Spare him, but Carry their Resentments so high as to Vilify him with Opprobrious Language.

I dont know how long I shall be detained here. The Indian War I suppose hinders S^r Jeffry Amherst from sending Troops to Relieve us at present; I dont Expect to be Relieved till Winter & shall probably be at Home Early in the Spring. If in the meantime you can be of Assistance to M^{rs} Whiting in any of her Affairs I shall be much Obligated to you. . . .

Pray how goe on [missing] . . . have you done the Meeting H[missing] . . . House? how is the State? do the Saints Govern, or do Some of you Men of the World, take upon you Worldly matters? what part in the Indian War do the Susquehanna Gentⁿ take? And has Col^o Dyer gone on his Embassy? What for a Commencement had you? was it in the old Stile? were you allowed to dance, kiss the Girls, & drink Wine? If so how dos it agree with the plan of Government as at present Established there?

I find here no Religious disputes, but there are here of almost every kind of Religion, & the Sabbath observed & the Publick Worship Carried on with tolerable Decency; here are two Large handsome Churches, & meetings of various denominations. The Presbyterian is not very well supplied at present; at Church they have one Gent: that performs very well.

[Missing.] . . . has Laid by me a Long time waiting an opportunity. I have only known this Long enough to ad a Word & tell you the Congress with the Indians that was to have

been held at Augusta is to be held at Dorchester about 20 Miles from this Town. Gov^r Dobbs* & Foquiere† are in Town, Gov^r. Wright‡ soon Expected. Cap^t Steward the Superintendant of Indian Affairs§ has gone to Collect the black Gentry & bring them down. I can only desire you to Salute M^{rs} Ingersol in a way most Agreeable to her, & present my Compliments to all my friends. I am

Dear Sir

Your most humble Serv^t

N. Whiting.||

Jared Ingersol Esq^r

* Arthur Dobbs, Governor of North Carolina, 1753-1764.

† Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1758-1768.

‡ James Wright, Lieutenant Governor and Governor of Georgia, 1761-1771, 1773, 1780.

§ John Stuart was Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern Department, appointed in 1764.

|| Nathan Whiting, of New Haven (born 1724, died 1771), was a cousin of Mrs. Ingersoll,—their fathers having been half-brothers,—and was graduated at Yale College in 1743, being the leading scholar in his Class.

He served with distinction through the Old French War, attaining the rank of Colonel. A selection from his letters during the war was printed in volume 6 of the *Papers* of this Society.

III. LONDON AND NEW HAVEN, 1765-1766.

In October, 1764, Mr. Ingersoll went again to England (in the ship carrying the masts, etc., which he had contracted to deliver); with the hope of securing a new contract. While there the Stamp Act, imposing a tax on business papers, etc., was passed by Parliament in March, 1765. He was induced to accept the office of Stamp Distributor for Connecticut, and returned to Boston in July; but was forced to renounce his appointment in September.

In June, 1766, he published at New Haven a collection of *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act* (pp. iv, 68, small 4°), the essential portions of which are here reprinted in consecutive order, with other writings of the same period.

 LETTER OF JAMES PARKER.

Woodbridge April 3, 1764

S^r.

The Bearer of this M^r Benjamin Mecom* is a Nephew to D^r Franklin of Philadelphia, and is a Printer. The Printing-Office in New-Haven belonged to me. I parted with half of it to Col. Hunter,† upon certain Conditions not performed. I have Col. Hunter's Bond for £500 NYork Money, which, as he is absent, I must try to put in Suit. Mean While I send M^r Mecom, with a Power of Attorney from me, to take the whole into his Possession, or if refused it, to attach Col. Hunter's Part, or such of his Estate, as may be in that Colony, in such a Manner as your Laws direct against an absent Debtor. if therefore my Attorney should apply to you for any Help or Assistance, whatever you shall think proper to be done for

* Printer of the *Connecticut Gazette* (1765-68) and postmaster of New Haven (1765-67).

† Colonel John Hunter, probably an uncle of Colonel William Hunter, of Williamsburg, Va., who was joint Postmaster-General for the Colonies with Dr. Franklin from 1753 to 1761.

regaining my Right, I shall support you in, and see you satisfied: and remain

Your very humble Serv^t

James Parker

To Jared Ingersol, Esq^r at New-Haven.

LETTERS TO GOV. THOMAS FITCH.

London 11th. Feb: 1765

S^r.

Since my last to you, I have been honoured with yours of the 7th. of December, in which you inform me that the Gen^l. Assembly have been pleased to desire my Assistance while here in any Matters that may concern the Colony. Be so good, S^r., in return as to Assure the Assembly that I have not only a Due Sense of the honour they have done me by placing this Confidence in me, but that I have ever since my arrival here, from Motives of Inclination, as well as Duty, done every thing in my Power to promote the Colony's Interests.

The principal Attention has been to the Stamp bill that has been preparing to Lay before Parliament for taxing America. The Point of the Authority of Parliament to impose such Tax I found on my Arrival here was so fully and Universally yielded, that there was not the least hopes of making any impressions that way. Indeed it has appeared since that the House would not suffer to be brought in, nor would any one Member Undertake to Offer to the House, any Petition from the Colonies that held forth y^e Contrary of that Doctrine. I own I advised the Agents if possible to get that point Canvassed that so the Americans might at least have the Satisfaction of having the point Decided upon a full Debate, but I found it could not be done, and here before I proceed to acquaint you with the Steps that have been taken, in this Matter, I beg leave to give you a Summary of the Arguments which are made Use of in favour of such Authority.

The House of Commons, say they, is a branch of the supreme legislature of the Nation, & which in its Nature is supposed to represent, or rather to stand in the place of, the Commons, that is, of the great body of the people, who are below the dignity of peers; that this house of Commons Consists of a certain number of Men Chosen by certain people of certain places, which Electors, by the Way, they Insist, are not a tenth part of the people, and that the Laws, rules and Methods by which their number is ascertained have arose by degrees & from various Causes & Occasions, and that this house of Commons, therefore, is now fixt and ascertained & is a part of the Supreme unlimited power, of the Nation, as in every State there must be some unlimited Power and Authority; and that when it is said they represent the Commons of England, it cannot mean that they do so because those Commons choose them, for in fact by far the greater part do not, but because by their Constitution they must themselves be Commoners, and not Peers, and so the Equals, or of the same Class of Subjects, with the Commons of the Kingdom. They further urge, that the only reason why America has not been heretofore taxed in the fullest Manner, has been merely on Account of their Infancy and Inability; that there have been, however, not wanting Instances of the Exercise of this Power, in the various regulations of the American trade, the Establishment of the post Office &c, and they deny any Distinction between what is called an internal & external Tax as to the point of the Authority imposing such taxes. And as to the Charters in the few provinces where there are any, they say, in the first place, the King cannot grant any that shall exempt them from the Authority of one of the branches of the great body of Legislation, and in the second place say the King has not done, or attempted to do it. In that of Pensilvania the Authority of Parliament to impose taxes is expressly mentioned & reserved; in ours tis said, our powers are generally such as are *According to the Course of other Corporations in England* (both which Instances by way of Sample were mentioned & referred to by M^r. Grenville in the House); in short they say a Power to tax is a necessary part of every Supreme Legislative Authority, and

that if they have not that Power over America, they have none, & then America is at once a Kingdom of itself.

On the other hand those who oppose the bill say, it is true the Parliament have a supreme unlimited Authority over every Part & Branch of the Kings dominions and as well over Ireland as any other place, yet we believe a British parliament will never think it prudent to tax Ireland. Tis true they say, that the Commons of England & of the british Empire are all represented in and by the house of Commons, but this representation is confessedly on all hands by Construction & Virtually only as to those who have no hand in choosing the representatives, and that the Effects of this implied Representation here & in America must be infinitely different in the Article of Taxation. Here in England the Member of Parliament is equally known to the Neighbour who elects & to him who does not; the Friendships, the Connections, the Influences are spread through the whole. If by any Mistake an Act of Parliament is made that prove injurious and hard the Member of Parliament here sees with his own Eyes and is moreover very accessible to the people, not only so, but the taxes are laid equally by one Rule and fall as well on the Member himself as on the people. But as to America, from the great distance in point of Situation, from the almost total unacquaintedness, Especially in the more northern Colonies, with the Members of Parliament, and they with them, or with the particular Ability & Circumstances of one another, from the Nature of this very tax laid upon others not Equally & in Common with ourselves, but with express purpose to Ease ourselves, we think, say they, that it will be only to lay a foundation of great Jealousy and Continual Uneasiness, and that to no purpose, as we already by the Regulations upon their trade draw from the Americans all that they can spare, at least they say this Step should not take place untill or unless the Americans are allowed to send Members to Parliament: for *who of you*, said Coll Barre Nobly in his Speech in the house upon this Occasion, *who of you reasoning upon this Subject feels warmly from the Heart* (putting his hand to his own breast) *for the Americans as they would for themselves or as*

you would for the people of your own native Country? and to this point Mr. Jackson produced Copies of two Acts of Parliament granting the privilege of having Members to the County Palatine of Chester & the Bishoprick of Durham upon Petitions preferred for that purpose in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth and Charles the first, the preamble of which Statutes counts upon the Petitions from those places as setting forth that being in their general Civil Jurisdiction Exempted from the Common Law Courts &c, yet being Subject to the general Authority of Parliament, were taxed in Common with the rest of y^e Kingdom, which taxes by reason of their having no Members in Parliament to represent their Affairs, often proved hard and injurious &c and upon that ground they had the privilege of sending Members granted them—& if this, say they, could be a reason in the case of Chester and Durham, how much more so in the case of America.

Thus I have given you, I think, the Substance of the Arguments on both sides of that great and important Question of the right & also of the Expediency of taxing America by Authority of Parliament. I cannot, however, Content myself without giving you a Sketch of what the aforementioned Mr. Barre said in Answer to some remarks made by Mr. Ch. Townsend in a Speech of his upon this Subject. I ought here to tell you that the Debate upon the American Stamp bill came on before the house for the first time last Wednesday, when the same was open'd by Mr. Grenville the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a pretty lengthy Speech, & in a very able and I think in a very candid manner he opened the Nature of the Tax, Urged the Necessity of it, Endeavoured to obviate all Objections to it—and took Occasion to desire the house to give y^e bill a most Serious and Cool Consideration & not suffer themselves to be influenced by any resentments which might have been kindled from any thing they might have heard out of doors—alluding I suppose to the N. York and Boston Assemblys' Speeches & Votes—that this was a matter of revenue which was of all things the most interesting to y^e Subject &c. The Argument was taken up by several who opposed the bill (viz) by Alder-

man Beckford, who, and who only, seemed to deny y^e Authority of Parliament, by Col. Barre, M^r. Jackson, S^r. William Meredith and some others. M^r. Barre, who by the way I think, & I find I am not alone in my Opinion, is one of the finest Speakers that the House can boast of, having been some time in America as an Officer in the Army, & having while there, as I had known before, contracted many Friendships with American Gentlemen, & I believe Entertained much more favourable Opinions of them than some of his profession have done, Delivered a very handsome & moving Speech upon the bill & against the same, Concluding by saying that he was very sure that Most who Should hold up their hands to the Bill must be under a Necessity of acting very much in the dark, but added, perhaps as well in the Dark as any way.

After him M^r. Charles Townsend spoke in favour of the Bill—took Notice of several things M^r. Barre had said, and concluded with the following or like Words:—And now will these Americans, Children planted by our Care, nourished up by our Indulgence untill they are grown to a Degree of Strength & Opulence, and protected by our Arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to releive us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under? When he had done, M^r. Barre rose and having explained something which he had before said & which M^r. Townsend had been remarking upon, he then took up the beforementioned Concluding words of M^r. Townsend, and in a most spirited & I thought an almost inimitable manner, said—

“They planted by your Care? No! your Oppressions planted em in America. They fled from your Tyranny to a then uncultivated and unhospitable Country—where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human Nature is liable, and among others to the Cruelties of a Savage foe, the most subtle and I take upon me to say the most formidable of any People upon the face of Gods Earth. And yet, actuated by Principles of true english Liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suf-

fered in their own Country, from the hands of those who should have been their Friends.

"They nourished up by *your* indulgence? they grew by your neglect of Em:—as soon as you began to care about Em, that Care was Exercised in sending persons to rule over Em, in one Department and another, who were perhaps the Deputies of Deputies to some Member of this house—sent to Spy out their Liberty, to misrepresent their Actions & to prey upon Em: men whose behaviour on many Occasions has caused the Blood of those Sons of Liberty* to recoil within them: men promoted to the highest Seats of Justice, some, who to my knowledge were glad by going to a foreign Country to Escape being brought to the Bar of a Court of Justice in their own.

"They protected by *your* Arms? they have nobly taken up Arms in your defence, have Exerted a Valour amidst their constant & Laborious industry for the defence of a Country, whose frontier, while drench'd in blood, its interior Parts have yielded all its little Savings to your Emolument. And beleive me, remember I this Day told you so, that same Spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still.—But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this Time speak from motives of party Heat, what I deliver are the genuine Sentiments of my heart; however superiour to me in general knowledge and Experience the reputable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that Country. The People I beleive are as truly Loyal as any Subjects the King has, but a people Jealous of their Liberties and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated—but the Subject is too delicate & I will say no more."

These Sentiments were thrown out so intirely without premeditation, so forceably and so firmly, and the breaking off so

* [Note added by Mr. Ingersoll, on publishing this letter in 1766.] I believe I may claim the Honour of having been the Author of this Title, however little personal Good I have got by it, having been the only Person, by what I can discover, who transmitted Mr. Barre's Speech to America.

beautifully abrupt, that the whole house sat awhile as Amazed, intently Looking and without answering a Word.

I own I felt Emotions that I never felt before & went the next Morning & thank'd Coll Barre in behalf of my Country for his noble and spirited Speech.

However, S^r. after all that was said, upon a Division of the house upon the Question, there was about 250 to about 50 in favour of the Bill.

The truth is I beleive some who inclined rather against the Bill voted for it, partly because they are loth to break the Measures of the Ministry, and partly because they dont undertake to inform themselves in the fullest manner upon the Subject. The Bill comes on to a second Reading to-morrow, when ours and the Massachusetts Petitions will be presented & perhaps they may be some further Debate upon the Subject, but to no purpose I am very sure, as to the Stopping or preventing the Act taking Place.

The Agents of the Colonies have had several Meetings, at one of which they were pleased to desire M^r. Franklin & myself as having lately Come from America & knowing more Intimately the Sentiments of the people, to wait on M^r. Grenville, together with M^r. Jackson & M^r. Garth* who being Agents are also Members of Parliament, to remonstrate against the Stamp Bill, & to propose in Case any Tax must be laid upon America, that the several Colonies might be permitted to lay the Tax themselves. This we did Saturday before last. M^r. Grenville gave us a full hearing—told us he took no pleasure in giving the Americans so much uneasiness as he found he did—that it was the Duty of his Office to manage the revenue—that he really was made to beleive that considering y^e whole of the Circumstances of the Mother Country & the Colonies, the later could and ought to pay something, & that he knew of no better way than that now pursuing to lay such Tax, but that if we could tell of a better he would adopt it. We then urged the Method first mentioned as being a Method the people had been used to—that it would

* Agent for South Carolina and Georgia.

at least seem to be their own Act & prevent that uneasiness & Jealousy which otherwise we found would take place—that they could raise the Money best by their own Officers &c &c

Mr. Jackson told him plainly that he foresaw [by] the Measure now pursuing, by enabling the Crown to keep up an armed Force of its own in America & to pay the Governours in the Kings Governments & all with the Americans own Money, the Assemblies *in* the Colonys would be subverted—that the Gov^{rs}. would have no Occasion, as for any Ends of their own or of the Crown, to call 'Em & that they never would be called to gether in the Kings Governments. Mr. Grenville warmly rejected the thought, said no such thing was intended nor would he beleived take place. Indeed I understand since, there is a Clause added to the Bill Applying the monies that shall be raised to the protecting & Defending America *only*. Mr. Grenville asked us if we could agree upon the several proportions Each Colony should raise. We told him no. He said he did not think any body here was furnished with Materials for that purpose; not only so but there would be no Certainty that every Colony would raise the Sum enjoined & to be oblige^d. to be at the Expence of making Stamps, to compel some one or two provinces to do their Duty & that perhaps for one year only, would be very inconvenient; not only so, but the Colonies by their constant increase will be Constantly varying in their proportions of Numbers & ability & which a Stamp bill will always keep pace with &c &c.

Upon the whole he said he had pledged his Word for Offering the Stamp Bill to the house, that the house would hear all our Objections & would do as they thought best; he said, he wished we would preserve a Coolness and Moderation in America; that he had no need to tell us, that resentments indecently & unbecomingly Express'd on one Side the Water would naturally produce resentments on tother Side, & that we could not hope to get any good by a Controversy with the Mother Country; that their Ears will always be open to any remonstrances from the Americans with respect to this bill both before it takes Effect &

after, if it shall take Effect, which shall be exprest in a becoming manner, that is, as becomes Subjects of the same common Princee.

I acquainted you in my last that Mr. Whately, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, and who had under his Care and Direction the business of preparing the Stamp Bill, had often conferred with me on the Subject. He wanted, I know, information of the several methods of transfer, Law process &c made Use of in the Colony, & I beleive has been also very willing to hear all Objections that could be made to the Bill or any part of it. This task I was glad to undertake, as I very well knew the information I must give would operate strongly in our favour, as the number of our Law Suits, Deeds, Tavern Licences & in short almost all the Objects of the intended taxation & Dutys are so very numerous in the Colony that the knowledge of them would tend to the imposing a Duty so much the Lower as the Objects were more in Number. This Effect I flatter myself it has had in some measure. Mr. Whately to be sure tells me I may fairly claim the Honour of having occasioned the Duty's being much lower than was intended, & three particular things that were intended to be taxed, I gave him no peace till he dropt; these were Licences for marriage—a Duty that would be odious in a new Country where every Encouragement ought to be given to Matrimony & where there was little portion; Commissions of the Justices of peace, which Office was generally speaking not profitable & yet necessary for the good Order and Government of the people; and Notes of hand which with us were given & taken so very often for very small Sums.

After all I beleive the people in America will think the Sums that will be raised will be quite Enough, & I wish they may'nt find it more Distressing than the people in power here are aware of.

The Merchants in London are alarmed at these things; they have had a meeting with the Agents & are about to petition Parliament upon the Acts that respect the trade of North America.

What the Event of these things will be I dont know, but am

pretty certain that wisdom will be proper & even very necessary, as well as prudence & good Discretion to direct the Councils of America. . . .

I shall hope to see you the beginning of Summer at farthest.

Y^r. Most Obedient

Humble Ser^t.

J: Ingersoll.*

Gov^r. Fitch

Copy

London 6th. March 1765

Sir

In my last, which was by the last mail to New York, I gave you a particular Account of the reception the American Stamp Bill met with in the house of Commons upon the first bringing of it in. Since that time, in the farther progress of the bill through the House, there have been some farther debates, the most considerable of which was at the second reading of y^e. bill, upon the offer of the Petitions from the Colonies against the same. You doubtless know that no Petition can be offered or presented to Parliament but by some Member of y^e. house. The first that was offerred was by M^r. Fuller a West india Planter in behalf of the Merchants in London trading to America. These Gentlemen it seems are much alarm^d. on account of their outstanding Debts in America, which it is said Do not fall short of four Millions Including y^e West Indies. Substance & purport of y^e Petition being opened & stated by M^r. Fuller & leave being asked to bring it in, 'twas Strongly Objected to, upon a principle which it seems has long been adopted by y^e House *that no petition shall be Received against a Money Bill*; this Drew into a Discussion & Consideration How Peremptory this Rule of the House was, how long it had been adhered to, & y^e Grounds & Principles upon which it was founded. Upon the

* The present letter, as well as the succeeding one, is printed in Mr. Ingersoll's *Letters relating to the Stamp Act*; but is here taken from the manuscript copy among his papers.

whole I think it appears the rule had not been deviated from, for about forty years last past. The Reason of the Rule is said to be y^e Manifest inconvenience that used to arise by Having so much of the time taken up in Hearing the various & allmost innumerable Claims, Reasons & pretentions of y^e many Subjects against being Taxed—& that there was the less reason for hearing Em, against laying a Tax, as it is at the same time an invariable rule that the Subject may Petition for the repeal of a Law Imposing a tax after that tax is laid & Experience had of the Effects, & finally that however reasonable it might be to hear the Americans themselves, there could be no reason for hearing the London Merchants in their behalf.

On the other side it was said, that the rule was not any Order of the House, but merely a practice as founded on Experience & to prevent inconvenience:—that however unreasonable it would be to Admit English Subjects upon every Imposition of a tax to come & be heard upon Petitions against the same, yet even in England it appeared by precedents produced, that when any new species of taxation had been set on foot, particularly the matter of funding, so called, i. e. borrowing of the Subject & paying Interest by various taxes, that Petitions had been admitted against the measure, and also on some other particuar and extraordinary Occasions formerly, & that this Case as to America was quite new & particularly hard as they had no Members in the House to speak for them.

Upon the whole the Question being about to be put, M^r. Fuller seeing pretty plainly which way it would be carried, withdrew his Petition. Next S^r. William Meredith presented one in behalf of the Colony of Virginia; this was drawn up here by their Agent M^r. Montegne, but had interwove in it some Expressions of the Assembly of Virginia contained in their Votes & which at least strongly implied their denial of the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies. This drew on a pretty warm debate. M^r. Yorke the late Attorney General Delivered himself in a very long Speech in which he endeavoured to evince that the Kings Grants contained in the Charters to some, & in the Commissions to the Governors in the other Colonies, could,

in their natures, be no more than to answer particular local & Provincial purposes & could not take the People in America out of y^e General & Supreme Jurisdiction of Parliament &c &c. The General Rule of the House against Receiving Petitions against money bills was also again urged;—on the other Side I think no-body but General Conway Denied the right of Parliament to tax us; this to be sure he did in y^e most Peremtory manner & urged with Great Vehemence y^e many Hardships & what he was Pleased to Call Absurdities y^t would follow from the contrary Doctrine & practice; y^e Hardships & Inconveniences were also again urged & placed in various lights by our other Friends in the House. And here I would remark y^t in y^e whole Debate first & last Alderman Beckford & G^l. Conway were y^e Only Persons who Disputed y^e right of Parliament to tax us. This is the same G^l Conway who was Dismissed from all his offices just at Close of y^e last Sessions for his Continual opposition to all the Measures of the Present Ministry; & here I find myself Obligated to say y^t Except y^e Gentlemen Interested in y^e West Indies & a few Members y^t happen to be Particularly connected with some of the colonies & a few of the heads of the minority who are sure to athwart & oppose y^e Ministry in Every Measure of what Nature or kind soever, I say Except these few Persons so Circumstanced there are Scarce any People here, Either within Doors or Without, but what approve the Measures now taking which Regard America. Upon the Whole the Question being put Whether the House would Receive y^e Petition, it Passed in the Negative by a great Majority. Then M^r. Jackson offered ours which met with the same Fate. He then acquainted y^e House y^t he had one to offer for y^e Massachusetts Colony, which however as it respected as well the late act called the Sugar act as the present, & seeing which way the same would be governed he told the house he would defer it till another Time; & here I ought not to omit to acquaint you that M^r. Charles, Agent for N. York, had received a Petition from his Constituents with orders to present the same, but which was conceived in terms so inflammatory that he could not prevail on any one Member of the House to present it.

I forgot to mention that M^r. Garth, a Member of the House, offered one for S: Carolina for which Colony he is Agent, which met with the same fate with the Rest. The other Agents seeing the point thus ruled, I suppose thought it to no purpose to offer any more.—It is about 4 Days since the Bill passed through all the necessary forms in the house of Commons & is now ready & lies before the Lords for their Concurrence; it is to take place the first Day of November next. As to the other regulations which regard America that either have taken place or are intended so to do, this session, they are as follows:—first of all the Stamp Duty which by the bill was laid on all Salaries which Exceed £20, upon a strong representation that the Judges Salaries in America in general are very low, is dropt out of the Bill. The Courts of Admiralty have been complained of as not only infringing on English Liberty by taking away trials by Jury, but as being so placed as to take people for trial from one End of America almost to the other. As to the first of these Objections they say here that there is no safety in trusting the breach of revenue laws to a Jury of the Country where the Offence is committed, that they find even in England they never can obtain Verdicts where Smuggling is practised & therefore always bring the Causes up for trial to London. To remedy the Second tis determined to have three Judges Extraordinary sent from England,—to be placed, one at Boston (by removing to that place y^e one now at Halifax), y^e others to be at N York & Philadelphia, or at Philadelphia & Charles Town; the Persons to be able men bred at Doctors commons, with a Salary Each of £800 Per Annum, to be peremptorily forbid Taking any Fees Whatsoever. to have Jurisdictions concurrant with y^e other Judges of Admiralty in America, that is an ordinary Jurisdiction the same with them, and also an Extraordinary one, of Hearing whatsoever causes shall be Brought before them by appeal from y^e other admiralty Judges*; all Prosecutions for y^e breach of revenue laws to be either in the courts of common law or courts of Admiralty, at y^e Election of y^e Prosecutor: & if brought before a court of Admiralty to be before a Judge in the Colony where

* See below. p. 421.

y^e offence is Committed, or if at Sea to y^e Next, that is to the nearest in Point of Distance; y^t y^e fees of Office in y^e custom Houses shall be all fixt & be y^e same in All; that an Alteration in y^e late act shall be made, giving a liberty of Carying Lumber Directly to Ireland & also to any Parts of Europe South of Cape Finisterre. A farther alteration has been Ask'd, viz. of liberty to cary wine, fruit & oil directly from Portugal & Spain &c to America, and to suffer a Draw back upon forreighn Sugars upon Reexportation to Europe, as also an Abatement of y^e Duty upon Molases, but these are at present Denied:—the first from a fear y^t y^e Duty upon y^e Wines will not be paid in America, there not having as yet been time for a full proof of y^e Punctuality of y^e Custom-Houses there; y^e 2^d because of Great Frands being Generaly practiced in y^e Cases of Draw back upon reexportation; and y^e 3^d because there has not been Sufficient Experience of what duty y^e Molases will bear. Some Alterations also tis said will be made with Regard to y^t Strictness that is required in y^e Matter of Cockets for Every article of Goods caryed Coastwise &c. These I believe are y^e principal regulations that relate to America, that may be expected to take place this Session.—And here as well to do Justice to the Minister M^r. Grenville as to the Comparative few who have interested themselves in the Concerns of America, I beg leave to say that I think no pains have been spared, on the one Side in behalf of America to make the most ample & strong representation in their favour, & on the other on the part of the Minister to hear patiently, to listen attentively to the reasonings & to Determin at least seemingly with coolness & upon principle upon the several Measures, which are Resolved on.

I have no need to tell you that in modern times convincing the Minister is convincing the House here, Especially in matters of Revenue.—I forgot one Article viz. the Post Office, y^e fees of which tis said are to be lowerd in America.

And now S^r. in order to give you, in the best manner I am able, an Idea of the Conferences, Sentiments & reasonings upon these Subjects, on this Side the Water, you will be pleased to Imagine to yourself a few Americans with the Minister, or any

other on that part, and after much time spent in Enquiry, various observations & remarks, he saying to them as follows, You will be pleased, laying aside all consideration of past Services on your Part or on ours, they have both been very great, to consider what is y^e present state of things; there is an immense national Debt, not less than one hundred & forty Millions Lying heavy on this Nation, for which an annual interest is paid; by the best informations we can get the whole of the publick Debt now in arrear of all the Colonies together is about Eight Hundred Thousand pounds. The Civil Establishment here for the Support of Government is Eight hundred thousand pounds a Year—that of all the Colonies together we find to be about forty thousand pounds p^r. annum only. You say you are comparatively poor to what we are; tis difficult measuring this point, but however opulent some in these Kingdoms are tis well known the many can but just live. The Military & naval Establishment here is immense, but without considering that, the amount of the Expence of the Army now placed in America & which is thought quite Necessary, as well on Account of the troubles with the Indians as for general defence against other nations & the like in so Extensive a Country, is upwards of three hundred thousand pounds a Year. We shall be glad to find that the Stamp Duty now laying on America shall amount to forty or fifty thousand pounds, & that all the Duties together, the post Office & those laid upon Molasses & other ways shall amount to one hundred thousand pounds a Year, so that there will not only not be any money brought away from America by means of these Duties, but there will be a ballance of more than two hundred thousand pounds sent over every year from England to be spent in America. You say the Colonies think they can, & that they are willing to do something in the Common Cause;—is this too much? we think it is not, but if on trial we find it is, we will certainly lessen it. As to our Authority to lay these Duties or taxes—to us tis so clear a point that to be sure we dont care to have a Question made of it. And dont you yourselves even want to have us Exercise this Authority in your turn? dont some of you Complain, & perhaps very justly,

that in the late war, while some of you did much, others did but little or perhaps nothing at all—and would not that be the Case again was you left to Defend yourselves? No doubt it would, unless you were Erected into one power by a Union of the whole, but that is a measure we dont think you yourselves, was you in our Steads would think advisable; and there are many reasons why you should wish not to have the Country Defended by your own Children. A Soldiers life is not only a life of Danger, but in a proper Sense is a base life, whereas you have all a Chance in that opening Country to raise your families to be considerable in time by a diligent Attention to your natural and proper business.

To all this the Americans answer, truly S^r. we must own there is a weight in your Arguments & a force in your reasonings—but after all we must say we are rather silenced than convinced. We feel in our bosoms that it will be for ever inconvenient, 'twill for ever be dangerous to America that they should be taxed by the Authority of a British parliament by reason of our great distance from you; that general want of mutual knowledge & acquaintance with each other,—that want of Connexion & personal friendship, & we without any persons of our own Appointing, who will have any thing to fear or hope from us, to speak for us in the great Council of the nation—we fear a foundation will be laid for mutual Jealousy and ill will, & that your resentments being kindled you will be apt to lay upon us more & more, even to a Degree that will be truly grievous & if that should be the Case that twill be hard under all the Circumstances, very hard to convince you that you wrong us, & that unknown & very unhappy Consequences will Ensue.

To this the Minister Replies:—

Come, suppose your Observations are entirely Just, & indeed we must own there are inconveniences attending this matter; what then is to be done? perhaps you will say let the Colonies send Members to Parliament; as to that in the first place the Colonies have not told us that they desire such a thing, & tis easy to see there are many reasons why they should not desire it. The Expense would probably be very great to 'Em; they

could not Expect to be allowed to have a Majority of Members in the house, and the very inconveniencies which you urge with regard to the people in America would in many respects & to a Degree take place with regard to their Members. What then? Shall no Steps be taken & must we and America be two distinct kingdoms & that now immediately, or must America be Defended entirely by us, & be themselves quite excused or be left to do just what they shall please to do? Some perhaps will do something & others nothing. Perhaps from the nature of our Situations it will happen & must be Expected that one Day we shall be two distinct Kingdoms, but we trust even you wont say you think yourselves ripe for that Event as yet. You are continually increasing in numbers & in strength; we are perhaps come, at least, to our full growth. Let us then leave these possible Events to the disposal of providence. We own on our part we dont choose to predict, nor yet to hasten the time of this supposed period, & think it would be to our mutual disadvantage for us to attempt a separation.

Let us then, instead of predicting the worst, hope that mutual Interest as well as duty will keep us on both Sides within the bounds of Justice. We trust we shall never intentionally burden you unreasonably; if at any time we shall happen to do it by Mistake, Let us know it & I trust it will be remedied. You find & I trust always will find an easy Access to those who from their Office have the principal Conduct of Revenue Laws, and we on our part find with pleasure that America is not destitute of persons, who at the same time that they have the tenderest regard for their Interests are well able to Represent to us their Affairs & who if they do it with integrity & Candor, will be sure to meet with our fullest Confidence. Let mutual Confidence and mutual Uprightness of intention take place & no considerable Ills can follow.

As to any reflections upon the matter I choose rather to leave them to you than attempt to make them myself, & am S^r. with great Esteem

Y^r. most Obedient

Most Humble Ser^t.

J. Ingersoll

P. S March 9

There is now strong application making for an Act of Parliament, for a bounty on various kinds of timber, plank & boards imported, to which the Minister seems to lend a favourable Ear.

Tis said that it is intended to give the business of Collecting & paying the Stamp Duty to Americans in the respective Colonies.

I am not without some hopes of having the pleasure of seeing you at Hartford before the rising of the Assembly in the May Sessions, having taken my passage in the Boscowen Capt Jacobson bound to Boston & who expects to sail the beginning of April.

J. I.

Gov^r. Fitch

Copy

LETTER TO GODFREY MALBONE.

London April 7th. 1765

S^r
 The Parliament have been & still are very busy with America, Laying Duties and granting, at least talking about granting bounties. The Spanish trade you may depend is opened, as much as y^e Same can be without Speaking loud. They say how they intend not to hurt us upon the whole of their regulations, but to do us good. I wish we may be of that mind. Many things have been said about the Molasses Duty, but after all they dont intend to repeal or alter the present Act without at least trying it, tho I believe they think they must by & by. I hope to be on your Side the water in two or three Months.

I know of nothing new here. The same kind of folks go to Court & y^e Same Sort patrol the Strand a nights that used to do when you was here. With Comp^s to M^{rs} Mallbone & all friends I Remain

Y^r Most Obed^t.

Humb^l Serv^t.

J: Ingersoll

G. Mallbone Esq^r.*

* This letter, to Godfrey Malbone of Newport, is at present in the New York Public Library; the opening sentences relate to private business of Mr. Malbone.

LETTER OF DR. DANIEL LATHROP.

Hartford, May 28, 1765

Sir

I happened at Hartford when your Letters were Read in the Assembly: am greatly Concerned what will be the Consequence of so heavy a Tax as y^t of the Stamps will be, but am Glad you were upon the Spot, which beleive was much to our Advantage. As you are Appointed the Dispencer of them for this Government, take this first Oppertunity to offer my Service as An Under Distributor for y^t part of the Government where I Live, if it will be Agreeable, and Doct^r. Solomon Smith at Hartford who is Connected with me in Buisness there. If you think favourably of s^d Affair please when you Return to give me A Line by Post and I will wait upon you Directly to settle the Terms. I am Sir with great Esteam

Your most Obed^t. humble Serv^t.

Daniel Lathrop*

[To

Jared Ingersol Esq

In N Haven]

LETTER OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Dear S^r:

Since we are doomed to Stamps and Slavery, & must submit, we hear with pleasure that your gentle hand will fit on our Chains & Shackles, who I know will make them set easie as possible. In Consequence of this M^r. Wales begs me to recommend the enclosed to y^r. Notice. I doubt not you will oblige him, if it shou'd not be inconvenient to you; & indeed from his Situation there seems to be Nobody else in Windham you could better employ.

* Dr. Daniel Lathrop (born 1712. died 1782) was graduated at Yale College in 1733, and conducted for many years a highly successful drug business in Norwich. Connecticut. The letters referred to are the two just preceding this in the present collection.

If you propose to have a Subaltern in every Town, I shall be at your service for Stratford if it be agreeable.

I sincerely rejoyce with you and M^{rs}. Ingersoll on your happy return home, and am as ever,

D^r. S^r. Y^r. most affect^e. Friend & humble Servant,

W^m. Sam^l. Johnson.

New Haven, June 3^d, 1765.

Jared Ingersoll, Esq^r.

LETTERS OF NATHANIEL WALES, JR.

Windham June y^e 1st 1765

S^r.

Notwithstanding my small acquaintance yet as I understand you are betruſted with the affair of the Stamp Duty I beg Leave to hint that if in y^e. plan you ſhould want a perſon in Each County town to diſpoſe of Blanks or paper I ſhould be glad to be improved for y^t purpoſe, if it ſhould ſuit you & you can confide in me; and as I keep an office in the Center and dont pra-ctiſe Riding abroad can doubtleſs ſerve you. I cant ſay more as Cap^t W^m Saml Johnson is waiting, and has Engadged to ſerve me if his influence will avail any thing. S^r. I ſhall no doubt be willing to undertake (if any is wanted) as much to y^r advantage as any perſon whatſoever, which is the preſent needfull from him who with grate Eſteem is your moſt humble Serv^t

Nath^l Wales Ju^r*

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

Windham Auguſt 19th 1765

S^r

I receeved yours and obſerve its Contence, and for answer muſt ſay that I wrote my firſt to you without much Conſideration and while matters were much undigeſted both in my

* Nathaniel Wales, Junior, ſon of Deacon Nathaniel, was one of the ſigners of the non-conſumption agreement in his native town of Windham, in January, 1768, and was one of the Committee of Correſpondence appointed to make that agreement effectual.

own and other peoples minds; but on further Consideration I am of opinion that the Stamp Duty can by no means be Justified, & that it is an imposition quite unconstitutional and so Infringes on Rather destroys our Libertys and previlidges that I Cant undertake to promote or Encorage it without acting dirictly Contrary to my Judgment and the true Intrest of my own native Country; and tho I would be a Loyal Subject yet that I may be & not Endeavour to promote that Law which in my privit Judgment is not Right, as ye case may be, I must therefore on the whole refuse accepting—if offered—any trust relative to Distributing the Stamps, nor would I accept thereof had I thousand pounds annexed to the trust. So that what trouble I have given you I must beg your pardon for and subscribe my self your humb^l Ser^{nt}.

Nath^l Wales Ju^r.

[To

Jared Ingersol Esq^r S: Mast^r.

Att

Newhaven]

LETTER OF JOHN COLEMAN.

S^r.

I hope You'll pardon me that I take the Liberty to request the Fav^r. of assisting you in the Management of the Stamp Office in the County of Hartford, and indulge me with an Opportunity to wait on you at Hartford if you should return that Way, that more fully may be known the engag'd Desires of

Yo^r. most Obedient hum^{le}. Serv^t.

John Coleman.*

Hartford June 27th. 1765.

[To

Jared Ingersol Esq^r.

Boston.

Fav^r.

Sam^l. Fitch Esq^r.]

* John Coleman (born 1728, died 1769) was graduated at Yale College in 1748, and spent the rest of his life in Hartford.

LETTER OF CHARLES PHELPS.

Stonington August 14, 1765

S^r

Understand that you are appointed Stamp Master for the Colony and understand their is to be a Deputy In Each town and Should be Glad to bespeak that Post for the town of Stonington, and if it should be agreeable to you to Leat me have it, be so Good as to Wright by the Post and your Compliance Will Oblige Your Hum^l S^r^t

Charles Phelps.

To Je^d Ingersel Esq

LETTER OF ANDREW ADAMS.

S^r

Duty & Inclination induce me to congratulate your Prosperity and Return from Europe. In your Absence I have Removed from Stanford to this Town where I determin at preasent to settle, and as y^e station you hold, in consequence of a late Act of Parliament, will perhaps require some subordinate Employ, I should Esteem myself honoured to be thought Worthy your Service; and would Receive y^e Favour with Gratitude.—Will wait on you next Week if you Please at Fairfield (as I understand you will be there) to know your Pleasure in this Respect; & hope I shall be able to Convinee you (as much as y^e Difference of Station will admit) how much I am

your Since^{er} Friend and Obed^t Serv^tAnd^w. Adams.*Litchfield: 15th: Aug^t: A D 1765

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

Newhaven]

* Andrew Adams (born 1736, died 1797) was graduated at Yale in 1760, and became a lawyer in Litchfield.

Besides the above applications for the office of Deputy Stamp-Distributors, a list by Mr. Ingersoll among his papers gives the following additional names:—

Hartford, Capt. [John] Laurence, Mr. Seymour; Windsor, Mr. Henry Allyn; Fairfield, Mr. Rowland.

LETTER OF ANDREW OLIVER.

Boston, 26. Aug^t: 1765.

Jared Ingersoll, Esq.

Sir The News Papers will sufficiently inform you of the Abuse I have met with. I am therefore only to acquaint you in short, that after having stood the attack for 36 hours—a single man against a whole People, the Government not being able to afford me any help during that whole time, I was persuaded to yield, in order to prevent what was coming in the 2^d. night; and as I hapned to give out in writing the terms of Capitulation, I send you a copy of them; assuring you at the same time, that this only was what was given out by my leave. I sho^d. be glad to hear from you and am, S^r. Yo^r most hum^{le}. Servant

Andrew Oliver^{ss}

Mr. Oliver acquaints Mr. Waterhouse that he has wrote to the L^{ds}. of the Treasury, to desire to be excused from executing the Office of Distributor of the Stamps: and that when they arrive he shall only take proper care to secure them for the Crown, but will take no one Step for distributing the same at the time appointed by the Act. And he may inform his friends accordingly.

Thursday Afternoon; 15th. August.

LETTER OF JAMES McEVERS.

New York Augst 26. 1765

Sir

I rec'd a Letter from John Brettel Esq^r. Forwarded by you, Inclosing a Bond to Execute for the Due Performance of the Office of Stamp Master for this Province, which I Readely Did (and Return'd it per the Last Paquet that Sail'd from hence) as there was then Little or no Clamour here about it, and I

* Mr. Ingersoll had arrived in Boston from London in July, 1765, and the attentions paid to him by Mr. Oliver had been one occasion of the resentment shown to the latter.

Immagin'd I Should be Able to Transact it; but since M^r Olivers Treatment att Boston has Been Known here and the Publication of a Letter from New Haven, the Discontent of the People here on Account of the Stamp Act Publickly Appears, I have Been Threaten'd with M^r. Olivers Fate if not Worse, to Prevent which I have Been under a Necessity of Acknowledgeing I have Wrote for a Resignation which I have Accordingly Done, and have Been Inform'd you have Done the Same, of Which I Beg you'l Advise me, and if you have not should be Glad to Know how you Purpose to Act, as it may be some Government to me in Case I Cant Procure a Release.

I am Sir Your Hum^l Serv^t.

James M^cEvers*

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE CONNECTICUT GAZETTE.

To the good People of Connecticut.

When I undertook the Office of Distributor of Stamps for this Colony, I meant a Service to you, and really thought you would have view'd it in that Light when you come to understand the Nature of the Stamp Act and that of the Office; but since it gives you so much Uneasiness, you may be assured, if I find (after the Act takes Place, which is the first of November) that you shall not incline to purchase or make use of any stampt Paper, I shall not force it upon you, nor think it worth my While to trouble you or my Self with any Exercise of my Office; but if, by that Time I shall find you generally in much Need of the stampt Paper and very anxious to obtain it, I shall hope you will be willing to receive it of me, (if I shall happen to have any) at least until another Person more agreeable to you can be appointed in my room.

I cannot but wish you would think more how to get rid of the Stamp Act than of the Officers who are to supply you with

* A New-York merchant, born 1726, died 1768.

the Paper, and that you had learnt more of the Nature of my Office before you had undertaken to be so very angry at it.

I am Yours, &c.

J. Ingersoll.

New Haven,

24 August, 1765.

[From *The Connecticut Gazette*, August 30, 1765.]

LETTER OF JEREMIAH MILLER.

New London 10 Sep^r. 1765.

S^r.

I received your fav^r by the Post and must tell you in Answer that I have not shewn or mentioned it to any one Person whatsoever, nor could I venture to do it, as I have been very unjustly suspected with regard to my Sincerity in this affair, & I have reason to think there has been some Invidious Aspersions against me about it, which could not have arisen from any other cause than my not having expressed that Flashy Zeal that is only attended with Noise & Smoke, and my saying y^t. I believed you undertook this affair Partly with a View of rendring it easier to the People, but it seems this is too much for any one to say in your Behalf. For my own part I can heartily Join in taking every Legall method of averting this Severe Tax, and really think it an Infringement of Liberty as Established by Charter, and altho my opinion has been Invariable in this respect, yet it seems a Charitable opinion of any one concern'd, is next to Treason; and I really believe that your Person & Estate will be greatly endangered if you Continue in this Office, and if my advice were worth regarding, it would be for you to Resign it.

Your Letter published in y^e. Cont^t. Gazette was similar to what you wrote me, and I perceived in no ways Satisfactory to the people: for which reason, and what I have before said to you, I Choose not to Publish what you sent me, and in which you will excuse me.

The People are put into such a rage against the poor Govern^r, for not calling the Assembly that I hope you Will use your Interest that it may be done before the Annual Sessions which will have a great tendency of frustrating the Designs of any to his Prejudice.

I can add no more but Job's wish, that "it were as in days past when the Candle of the Lord shined upon us." This is my Prayer for Poor North America, & also that you may be again Reinstated in the affections of your Country.

I am your Hum^l Serv^t Jere Miller*

Jared Ingersol, Esq.

COMMUNICATION TO THE CONNECTICUT GAZETTE.

In order to shew to people on this Side the water how little it was apprehended on tother Side by the most Zealous friends of America that their having any thing to do with the Stamp Appointments would Subject them to the Censures of their friends, I beg leave to give Some Account of the manner in which those Appoint^{ts}. happened & in particular that for N: York, in doing which I am Sure I shall be Excused by those Gentlemen whose names I shall have occasion to mention.

I ought in the first place to observe that about the time the Parliament began their Session last Winter, the Agents of the Colonies met together Several times in order to Concert measures for Opposing the Stamp Act, in Consequence whereof the Minister was waited on by them in order to remonstrate against y^e same & to propose, if we must be taxed, that we might be Allowed to tax ourselves: a very particular Account of which,—of y^e Difficulties y^t Occurred upon every proposed plan & of all the Arguments pro & con & of the Several Steps taken in the progress of the Bill through the House of Commons, was communicated by me in Several Letters to y^e Gov^r. of this Colony & which I understand have been publicly read to y^e Gen^l. Assembly. The Merchants of London trading to America also met

* Jeremiah Miller, son of Jeremiah Miller (Yale 1709), of New London, Connecticut, was the Naval Officer of that Port.

together about this time & Appointed a Com^{te}. of themselves to make all the Opposition they could to the Stamp bill; of this Committee M^r. Alderman Trecothick was Deputy Chairman.

Tis well known to many people of the first figure in Boston & New York as well as Elsewhere that Barlow Trecothick* Esq^r. who was brought up at Boston under the late M^r. Apthorp & whose Daughter he married, afterwards removed & settled in London where he has acquired a great Estate with the fairest Character & is at this time one of the Aldermen of y^e City of London & well known by all who have the honour of his Acquaintance to be a steady, cool but firm friend to America. This Com^{te}. were pleased to invite the Agents to a Joint Conference. They were frequently together & several times before the Minister upon the Stamp & other bills that related to America, where M^r. Trecothick was always principal spokesman as for y^e Merchants.

After the Stamp bill passed into an Act and the Minister had Resolved on the general measure of offering to y^e Americans the Offices of Stamp Distributers in the respective Colonies, for reasons, as he declared, of Convenience to the Colonies, he sent for M^r Trecothick & Desired him to name a person, some friend of his in whom he could Confide, for y^e Office of Distributer for y^e Province of New York. M^r. Trecothick said to him, as I am well warranted to assert, to this Effect:—S^r, you know I am no friend to y^e Stamp Act. I heartily wish it never had taken Effect, & fear it will have very ill Consequences. However, tis passed & I conclude must have its operation. I take it as a favour that you are willing to put the principal offices into y^e hands of y^e Americans & Esteem it an honour done me that you permit me to name a person for N York, & so named M^r. M^cEvers, & went I believe of his own accord & gave bond for him at y^e Office, & all most undoubtedly without the privity or knowledge of that Gentleman. And upon this general plan & principle were all y^e Appointments made, that is

* Son of Mark Trecothick, of London; married a daughter of Charles Apthorp, of Boston, in 1747; Member of Parliament, and Lord Mayor of London; died in London in June, 1775.

to say, the offer was made generally to those who had appeared as y^e Agents or friends of y^e Colonies to take it themselves or nominate their friends, & none of them all refused that I know of; indeed things were not, I believe, viewed in that very strong light at that time, either there or here, as they now are here. There happened but three Instances of persons then on the Spot belonging to the old Continent Colonies to whom y^e Offer was made, who were in a Condition to accept it personally. These were Co^l. Mercer from Virginia & M^r. Massarve, Son of y^e late Co^l. Massarve from N^o: Hampshire, who happened accidentally in London at that time upon business of their own, & myself.

Now upon this view of y^e matter will not Every unprejudiced mind believe that Alderman Trecothick was in the first place a sincere friend to y^e Colonies & really averse to y^e passing y^e Stamp Act, when Even his Interest as well as his Inclination & Convictions led him that way, for tis well known he Deals largely with America & could not hope to have his own affairs bettered by y^e Act. In y^e next place will any body suppose that he Imagined by this Step he should Expose a valuable friend to the resentments of his Country. Again, when the measure of making y^e Appointments in America was thus general, & come into as generally, will any body think that any one of the persons concerned Imagined he betrayed his Country by falling in with the measure? Perhaps at this time, when popular rage runs so very high, some may think the friends of America mistook their own & their Countrys true Interest, when they listened to these overtures, but who can think their intentions were ill? I thought this brief Narrative was a piece of Justice due to those who have fallen under so much blame of late, for meddling with the Obnoxious Office before mentioned.

And here I cannot but take Notice how unwilling some News writers seem to be to publish any thing that serves to inform the mind of such matters as tend to abate the peoples prejudices, they even making use of some kind of Caution, I observe, to prevent y^e people from listening to any such Cool & Dispassionate Dissertations & remarks, which at any time they happen to

publish &, at the same time, deal out their personal Abuses in the most unrestrained manner, repeating with pleasure the Accounts of the most Extraordinary Libellous Exhibitions & practices—practices which my Lord Coke Describes as being not only the most injurious to Individuals but a *Scandal to Government*, tending to the breach of the peace & Stirring up Sedition, y^e terrible Effects of which we begin to see & which it appears to me can answer no other publick purpose except so to Inflame the Mother Country ag^t us as that they will even refuse to treat with us on y^e Subject of our burdens. I wish all such persons would bear in their minds those few lines which the facetious Poet so aptly applies, in his Hudibrass, to the beginning of those Civil Dissentions which laid England in ruins about a Century ago—

When Civil dudgeon first grew high
And men fell out they knew not why,
When hard words, Jealousies & fears
Set folks together by the Ears &c.

J: I.*

N: Haven Sep^r. 10: 1765

LETTER TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

To the Hon^{bl}. Gen^l. Assembly Convened by Special order of his Hon^r. the Gov^r. at Hartford Sept^r 19 1765

May it please y^r. Hon^{rs}.

The repeated tumults & very Extraordinary practices in Several parts of this Colony of late, which so plainly point at me, as well as to the Parliament of Great Britain, & all manifesting great dislike, not only at the late Stamp Act but at the Officers appointed under the same, will Justify my Laying before y^r. Hon^{rs}. a few things for y^r. Consideration, in order as well to Exculpate my self as the better to Enable Your Hon^{rs}. to

* This article was contributed by Mr. Ingersoll to *The Connecticut Gazette* of September 13. 1765. and is here reprinted from the original draft among his manuscripts.

take such measures as shall appear most likely to remove those Evils which at present appear so alarming.

It will not be forgotten by this Assembly that the Parliament passed a Leading Vote to y^e Stamp Act near two years ago, viz. that it might be proper to Charge Certain Stamp Duties on y^e Colonies: this Vote I understand was taken in order as well to Let y^e Colonies know that the Parliament thought they had Authority to Lay such tax, as to give the Colonies an opportunity to agree upon some plan among themselves that should save the need of their taking such a measure. The Colonies did not fall in with this plan, but being alarmed at the Claim of Parliament went about to Dispute their authority. When I came to meet with the Agents last winter & with the Com^{tee}. of the Merchants of London trading to America, who frequently met together in order to Concert measures for oposing y^e Stamp Act, I found it was generally thought that y^e matter of y^e Parliaments right to tax us was a thing so thoroughly Determined that there was no hopes of Relief that way. I Desired the Agents however by all means to Dispute that point as I knew the Colonies would not be Easy if they should not. Some of them said they had Rec^d. from their Constituents such Petitions & Instructions as would oblige them to question that matter.

In the mean time it was thought proper to wait on the Minister & to let him know how disagreeable it would be to y^e Colonies to be taxed by Parliament—how much it would alarm them—& to ask the favour that they might be allowed to tax themselves in Case they must be taxed. This was done, & I believe Every thing said that could be of any Use, to Dissuade from the measure then taking by Parliament. The Minister said, he took no pleasure in bringing upon himself y^e Resentments of y^e Colonies—that it was thought reasonable that they should Contribute Something in y^e Common Cause, that as to y^e manner of raising that Something, he was content to adopt any plan that should be held out to him by y^e Colonies, that they themselves should think would answer. He askt if y^e Colonies were agreed upon the proportion that each Colony ought to bear, & observed how very difficult it was to fix any propor-

tion—how that proportion would be perpetually varying by the different increase of different Colonies, & after all the uncertainty that the respective Assemblies would, by their own Act, Raise y^e Sums that should be generally agreed on. Much more was said upon this Subject & more than can well be comprised in a Letter. Upon the whole the matter seemed to be attended with much difficulty. He said he had pledged his word for bringing in the stamp bill into Parliament that Session & that the Parliament would do what they pleased upon it, but that he could not forego it.

When the Petitions come to be offered to y^e House against y^e bill, the Authority of y^e Parliament was drawn into question by some of them, particularly that from Virginia. This matter was as Largely Debated as could be Expected, Considering how few there were in y^e house who denied their Authority; & here I beg to be allowed to State to y^r. Hon^{rs}., how impossible it was for y^e Agents to do any thing more than they did as to this point. Tis well known that no person can offer a Petition to y^e house of Commons Except a Member of y^e house. I have Acquainted y^r. Hon^{rs}. before that there was but two Members who Denied y^e Right of Parliament to tax us: one was Gen^l. Conway, a Gentleman who was so displeased with the Ministry for what he thought personal Injuries, having been deprived of all his offices, that he could scarce speak without shewing Signs of Anger—and was sure to oppose almost Every thing that was proposed by y^e Minister; y^e. other was Alderman Beckford a West India Planter. At y^e same time M^r. Fuller, another West India Planter, formerly Ch. Justice of Jamaica, & whose Brother is their Agent, said he heard that some of y^e Agents were for being heard at y^e barr of the house by Council upon the matter of the Right of Parliament to tax America. I believe, says he, no Counsellor of this kingdom (& he knew that no other could) will come to that Barr. (pointing to y^e barr of y^e house,) & openly question the authority of this house in that particular, but if he should, I believe, added he, he would not stay there long; & even Co^l. Barry who spoke so warmly in our favour said in his first general Speech that he believed no man in that house would

Deny y^e Authority of Parliament to tax America, & he was pleased to add, that he did not think the more sensible people in America would deny it. In short, altho there was about forty Members in the Negative upon y^e general question upon y^e bill, & who were y^e West India Gentlemen & a few others connected with America, yet their Oposition to it was not on account of its being Unconstitutional, but because they tho^t. y^e measure imprudent & perhaps burdensome. These things are no Secerets but well known to hundreds of persons besides myself. Now upon this view of y^e matter I would ask what the Agents could have done more than they did; I mean the Agents without doors: as for those within, tis well known they do not try to hide that they believe the Parliament have full authority. In short I found it almost as dangerous in England to Deny y^e right of Parliament to tax America, as I do here to admit it. The Pamphlets that were published here upon y^e Subject were dispersed among the Members, but Every one seemed to think the reasonings were not conclusive.

After the Act passed the Minister was pleased to come into a general measure of giving the principal offices under the Act to Americans. There happened but two persons then in England belonging to y^e North Continent Colonies besides myself, who were in a Condition to take y^e Office personally; these were Co^l Mercer from Virginia & M^r Massarve from N. Hampshire, who happened in England at that time upon business of their own, but who I take it were named to y^e Minister by the Agents or some friend of those Colonies. The Distributer for N York was Recommended by M^r Alderman Trecothick, Dep. Chairman of y^e Com^{tee}. of Merchants beforementioned, a Gentleman brought up at Boston, & who has his Connections & Interest quite against y^e Stamp Act, & which he had opposed through the Course of y^e winter with all his might. When he was sent for, by the Minister, & desired to name a person for N. York, he said to him, as I am well warranted to assert, to y^e following Effect: S^r you know I am no friend to y^e Stamp Act; I heartily wish it never had passed, & wish it may not have very unhappy Consequences; however it is now passed, & I suppose must have its

operation, & I take it as a favour that you are pleased to put y^e principal offices into y^e hands of y^e Americans, & as an honour done me that you give me leave to name to you a person for N. York. These, I believe, were the Sentiments of all. Now when the measure was thus general throughout America & as generally come into by all those who had appeared as y^e friends of America in opposing y^e Act, can it be wondred at that I should come into y^e same measure Especially when it is Considered further that the Declared motives on the part of y^e Minister were those of Convenience to y^e Colonies. He said we told him that we were poor & unable to bear such tax; others told him we were well able; now, says he, take y^e business into your own hands; you will see how & where it pinches & will certainly let us know it, in which Case it shall be Eased.

Y^r. Hon^{rs} will Consider further that we who were on tother side y^e water must see & know how Extremely unlikely it was Ever to Convince y^e Parliament upon y^e point of their Authority, & which is doubtless the principal matter in all the dispute, & to be sure we did not Imagin that y^e Colonies would think of disputing y^e matter with them at y^e point of y^e Sword, & that therefore the most we Could do would be to Construct y^e Act as favourably as possible, & make y^e best of it. This it was thought would probably be done as beneficially by Americans as by Strangers; & upon my honour I thought I should be blamed if I did not accept the Appointment, Especially as I knew y^e Assembly & people here would have time Enough before y^e Act took place to Determin whether they would Conform to y^e Act or not, and as I took no Commission, nor y^e Oath of Office, I Determined, & have Constantly from the beginning so Declared to Every one, that if y^e people shall think y^e Act Either too dangerous in its tendency or too burdensom to be born & conclude to risque y^e Consequences of a non Compliance with it, in that Case there would be little or no Use for my Office & that I should never Enter into a warfare with my Country about it nor think of taking any Steps in the same. On the other hand, if upon the whole view of things it should be thought best to submit to y^e Act, as in that Case I knew y^e people would of Course want y^e Stamp paper, I hoped they would

be willing to receive the same at my hands, with those helps in the Use & Application of Em which from my being on y^e Spot when y^e Act passed I had been able to obtain. With these views & with these Declarations I address y^r Hon^s., waiting & hoping to know by some means or other what are y^r ultimate Sentiments of y^e matter. I Desire not to give any byas, was it in my power. I believe no person sees in a stronger light than I do the trouble & Difficulties, to say no more of Em, that will probably attend this matter, whether we go forward or whether we go backward.

I hope your Hon^s. will not Suffer any personal Considerations to divert your Attention from the principal matter. As to me I thought I had Acquitted myself with some reputation in this matter. I am sure I never Laboured harder in any Cause in my life, & shall always have the Satisfaction of knowing that I have been able a little to Alleviate the Act, tho I dont think it was in my power or the power of all the Colonies together had they been present to have prevented it. I am neither afraid nor ashamed to have my Conduct in this Affair Examined with the utmost Severity, but hope I am not to be Judged unheard, & by no other proofs than the most base & wicked insinuations in Newspapers & private malignant whispers; & should those fires that have been kindled in some parts of y^e Colony terminate in nothing worse than the Emblazoning my Disgrace, I shall be Content. Would the burning my Effigies or my person save this Colony from the Evils that seem to impend I believe I ought to think it a Cheap Sacrifice;—but the difficulty lies much deeper, & here I cannot Content myself without letting you know what appears to me what appear to be y^e Outlines of the present Embarrassments.

The Parliament & Even the whole Nation, as far as I could collect their Sense of y^e matter, seem to be fixt in y^e following points, viz. first, that America is at this time become too important to itself as well as to y^e Mother Country & to all foreign powers to be left to that kind of Care & protection that was Exercised heretofore by Each independant Province, in y^e Days of their Infancy:—that there must be some one Eye to see over & some one hand to guide & direct y^e whole of its Defence & pro-

tection. In the Second place that America is able & ought to contribute Something toward this general protection, over & above y^e Advantages arising from y^e American trade;—the Advantages of trade simply Considered, they say, are mutual. How this Something is to be Contributed by America in an Equal & Certain manner, seems to be y^e great Difficulty. Perhaps nothing will Satisfy y^e mind & answer the Demands of right reason, let the Constitution & Authority of Parliament be what it will, Short of an Authority dependant on the Choice, power & will of America to Enforce this Contribution; but then there Occurs, at once, a thousand difficulties how to Obtain this Common power & Authority, not only without giving Umbrage to y^e Mother Country, but even as to ourselves,—the many Jealousies that would arise as to y^e proportioning the parts of this Common power, & many more which Every ones mind will Easily Suggest. On y^e other hand to have y^e Sole power in the Parliament seems to be attended with peculiar difficulty & not to be free from many great & weighty Objections; & this does not Escape y^e Notice of y^e Gentlemen on tother side y^e water, but they say the measure is Necessary, that y^e Parliament has Constitutional authority & that they must Enforce because there is no other power that Can.

I have only to wish that in this Day of difficulty & perplexity Your Hon^{rs}. might be at Liberty from the Rage of men not altogether acquainted perhaps with the nature & Extent of y^e Subject, to form such Resolutions as shall be for y^e ultimate good & welfare of the Colony, to which I shall always pay a Due Deference, & shall always be ready to serve my Country in what shall appear to me to be their true Interests, notwithstanding their prejudices & the ill treatment I have or may Receive from them, & am

Y^r Hon^{rs} most Obed^t
& most Humb^l Serv^t.

J: Ingersoll*

N Haven Sep^r 18th 1765

* This letter to the General Assembly was included in the *Letters relating to the Stamp Act*, and is here printed from the author's private copy.

P. S. I have given orders to have the Stamp paper for this Colony, stopt at N York until further orders, nor do I intend it shall come into this Colony by my direction, until I shall be able to discover that it is the Choice of the Gen^l. Assembly & people of this Colony to have it come.

J. I.

COMMUNICATION TO THE CONNECTICUT GAZETTE.

As the Affair, of the 19th Instant, relating to my renouncing the Office of Distributor of Stamps for this Colony, is too publick to be kept a Secret; and yet the particulars of it not enough known to prevent many vague and different Reports concerning it; I thought it might be well to give the Publick a brief Narrative of that Transaction; and which I shall do with all possible Impartiality, without mentioning the Names of any of the Concerned, and without any Remarks or Animadversions upon the Subject.

Having received repeated and undoubted Intelligence of a Design formed by a great Number of People in the eastern Parts of the Colony to come and obtain from me a Resignation of the above mentioned Office, I delivered to the Governor, on the 17th, at New-Haven, in his way to meet the General Assembly at Hartford on the 19th, a written Information, acquainting him with my said Intelligence, and desiring of him such Aid and Assistance as the emergency of the Affair should require. On the 18th I rode with his Honour and some other Gentlemen, Members of the Assembly, in hopes of being able to learn more particularly the Time and Manner of the intended Attack.

About eighteen Miles from hence, on the Hartford Road, we met two Men on Horseback with pretty long and large new made white Staves in their Hands, whom I suspected to be part of the main Body. I accordingly stopt short from the Company, and askt them if they were not in pursuit of me, acquainting them who I was, and that I should not attempt to avoid meeting the

People. After a little Hesitancy they frankly owned that they were of that Party, and said there were a great Number of People coming in three Divisions, one from Windham through Hartford, one from Norwich through Haddam, and one from New-London, by the way of Branford, and that their Rendezvous was to be at Branford on the Evening of the 19th, from thence to come and pay me a Visit on the 20th. These Men said they were sent forward in order to reconnoitre and to see who would join them. I desired them to turn and go with me as far as Mr. Bishop's the Tavern at the Stone House, so called. One of them did. Here I acquainted the Governor and the other Gentlemen with the Matter; and desired their Advice. The Governor said many Things to this Man, pointing out to him the Danger of such a Step, and charging him to go and tell the People to return Back; but he let the Governor know, that they lookt upon this as the Cause of the People, & that they did not intend to take Directions about it from any Body.

As I knew, in case of their coming to New-Haven, there would most likely be an Opposition to their Designs and probably by the Militia, I was afraid lest some Lives might be lost, and that my own Estate might receive Damage, I therefore concluded to go forward and meet them at Hartford; and accordingly wrote a Letter to the People who were coming in the two lower Divisions, acquainting them generally with my Purposes with regard to my exercising the Office aforesaid, and which I had the Day before, delivered to the Governor to be communicated to the Assembly, which were in Substance that I should decline the Business if I found it generally disagreeable to the People, and which I hoped would be sufficient; but if not, that I should be glad, if they thought it worth their while, to meet them at Hartford, and not at New-Haven, assuring that I should not attempt to secrete myself. This done, I got Mr. Bishop to go down to New-Haven, with a Letter to my Family, that they and my House might be put in a proper state of Defence and Security, in case the People should persist in their first Design of coming that way.

Having taken these Precautions, I tarried that Night at Mr.

Bishop's. The next Morning, Thursday the 19th, I set off alone about seven o'Clock, for Hartford, but just as I was mounting, Mr. Bishop said he would go along and see what would happen, and accordingly overtook me, as I did Major Hall, a Member of the Assembly, upon the Road; and so we went on together until we came within two or three Miles of Weathersfield, when we met an advanced Party of about four or five Persons. I told them who I was, upon which they turned, and I fell into Conversation with them, upon the general Subject of my Office, &c. About half a Mile further we met another Party of about Thirty whom I accosted, and who turned and went on in the same Manner. We rode a little further and met the main Body, who, I judge, were about Five Hundred Men, all on Horseback, and having white Staves, as before described. They were preceded by three Trumpets; next followed two Persons dressed in red, with laced Hats; then the rest, two abreast. Some others, I think, were in red, being, I suppose, Militia Officers. They opened and received me; then all went forward until we came into the main Street in the Town of Weathersfield, when one riding up to the Person with whom I was joined, and who I took to be the principal Leader or Commandant, said to him, We can't all hear and see so well in a House, we had as good have the Business done here; upon this they formed into a Circle, having me in the Middle, with some two or three more, who seemed to be the principal Managers, Major Hall and Mr. Bishop also keeping near me. I began to speak to the Audience, but stopt and said I did not know why I should say any Thing for that I was not certain I knew what they wanted of me; they said they wanted me to resign my Office of Stamp Distributor. I then went on to tell them that I had always declared that I would not exercise the Office against the general Inclinations of the People. That I had given to the Governor, to be communicated to the Assembly my Declarations upon that head; and that I had given Orders to have the stamp'd Papers stopt at New-York, from whence it should not come until I should be able to learn from the Assembly that it was their Choice and Inclination to have it come, as I

did not think it safe to bring it in without. That I was under Bonds to the Stamp Office in England, and did not think it safe or proper for me to resign the Office to every one that should ask it of me; and that I only waited to know the sense of the Government, whether to conform to the Act or not in order to my getting dismissed from my Office in a proper Manner. And as it had been said that the Assembly would not say any Thing about the Matter, I had now put it upon this fair Footing, that if they did not, by some Act relative to the Affair, plainly shew their Minds and Inclination to have the stamp Paper brought into the Colony, I should not think it safe, as Times were, to suffer the same to come in, nor take any Steps in my Office; also observed to 'em, that the Governor, would have Power and Instructions to put in another if I should be removed: that the Step could do them no good, &c. They said, Here is the Sense of the Government, and no Man shall exercise that Office. I askt if they thought it was fair that the Counties of Windham and New-London should dictate to all the rest of the Colony? Upon this one said, It don't signify to parly—here is a great many People waiting and you must resign. I said I don't think it proper to resign till I meet a proper Authority to ask it of me; and added, What if I won't resign? what will be the Consequence? One said *Your Fate*. Upon which I looked him full in the Face and said with some Warmth, MY FATE you say. Upon which a Person just behind said, *The Fate of your Office*. I answered that I could Die, and perhaps as well now as another Time; and that I should Die but once. Upon which the Commandant (for so, for Brevity sake, I beg Leave to call the Person who seemed to have the principal Conduct of the Affair) said we had better go along to a Tavern (and which we did) and cautioned me not to irritate the People.* When we came

* The direct road from New Haven to Hartford (a part of what was known as the Old Colony Road to Boston) passed through Meriden, Berlin, and the western part of Wethersfield (now Newington): and what was universally known as "the Old Stone House" was on the Belcher Farm in the present city of Meriden.

Mr. Ingersoll's escort appears to have turned to the right hand after leaving Berlin (to give time for the Assembly to convene), and passed

against the House and the People began to alight, I said You can soon tell what you intend to—my Business is at Hartford—may I go there or Home?—and made a Motion to go. They said No. You sha'n't go two Rods from this Spot, before you have resigned; and took hold of my Horse's Bridle; when, after some little Time, I dismounted and went into the House with the Persons who were called the Committee, being a certain Number of the principal Persons, the main Body continuing without Doors. And here I ought not to omit mentioning that I was told repeatedly that they had no Intentions of hurting me or my Estate; but would use me like a Gentleman; this however I conclude they will understand was on Condition I should comply with their Demands.

When I came into the House with this select committee a great deal of Conversation passed upon the Subject, and upon some other Matters, as my being supposed to be in England when the first leading Vote of Parliament passed relative to the Stamp-Act, and my not advising the Governor of it; whereas I was at that time in America,—and the like, too tedious to relate. Upon the whole, This Committee behaved with Moderation and Civility, and I thought seemed inclined to listen to certain Proposals which I made; but when the Body of the People come to hear them they rejected 'em, and nothing would do but I must resign.

While I was detained here, I saw several Members of the Assembly pass by, whom I hailed, acquainting them that I was there kept and detained as a Prisoner; and desired their and the Assembly's Assistance for my Relief. They stopt and spoke to the People; but were told they had better go along to the Assembly where they might possibly be wanted. Major Hall also finding his Presence not altogether agreeable, went away: And Mr. Bishop, by my Desire, went away to let the Governor and Assembly know the Situation I was in.

After much Time spent in fruitless Proposals, I was told the

through Wethersfield village, halting to carry out their design on the west side of lower Broad Street, in front of Colonel John Chester's house, under an elm tree which has disappeared only within the last half-century.

People grew very impatient, and that I must bring the Matter to a Conclusion; I then told 'em I had no more to say, and askt what they would do with me? They said they would carry me to Windham a Prisoner, but would keep me like a Gentleman. I told them I would go to Windham, that I had lived very well there, and should like to go and live there again. This did not do. They then advised me to move from the front Window, as the Sight of me seemed to enrage the People. Sometimes the People from below would rush into the Room in great Numbers, and look pretty fierce at me, and then the Committee would desire them to withdraw.

To conclude.—After about three Hours spent in this Kind of Way, and they telling me that certain of their Gentlemen, Members of the General Assembly, had told them that they must get the Matter over before the Assembly had Time to do any Thing about it; and that it was my Artifice to wheedle the Matter along until the Assembly should, some how or other get ensnared in the Matter, &c. The Commandant, coming up from below, with Numbers following close behind in the Passage, told me with seeming Concern in his Countenance, that he could not keep the People off from me any longer; and that if they once began, he could not promise me where they would end. I now thought it was Time to submit. I told him I did not think the Cause worth dying for, and that I would do whatever they should desire me to do. Upon this I look'd out at a front Window, beckoned the People and told 'em, I had consented to comply with their Desires; and only waited to have something drawn up for me to sign. We then went to Work to prepare the Draught. I attempted to make one myself; but they not liking it, said they would draw one themselves, which they did, and I signed it. They then told me that the People insisted on my being Sworn never to execute the Office. This I refused to do somewhat peremptorily; urging that I thought it would be a Prophanation of an Oath. The Committee seemed to think it might be dispensed with; but said the People would not excuse it. One of the Committee however said, he would go down and try to persuade them off from it. I saw him from my

Window amidst the Circle, and observing that the People seemed more and more fixt in their Resolution of insisting upon it, I got up and told the People in the Room, I would go and throw myself among them, and went down, they following me. When I came to the Circle, they opened and let me in, when I mounted a Chair which stood there by a Table, and having pulled off my Hat and beckoned Silence, I proceeded to read off the Declaration which I had signed; and then proceeded to tell them, that I believed I was as averse to the Stamp-Act as any of them; that I had accepted my Appointment to this Office, I thought upon the fairest Motives; finding, however, how very obnoxious it was to the People, I had found myself in a very disagreeable Situation ever since my coming Home; that I found myself, at the same Time, under such Obligations that I did not think myself at Liberty peremptorily to resign my Office without the Leave of those who appointed me; that I was very sorry to see the Country in the Situation it was; that I could nevertheless, in some Measure, excuse the People, as I believed they were actuated, by a real though, I feared, a misguided Zeal for the Good of their Country; and that I wished the Transactions of that Day might prove happy for this Colony, tho' I must own to them, I very much feared the Contrary;—and much more to the same Purpose.

When I had done, a Person who stood near me, told me to give Liberty and Property, with three Cheers, which I did, throwing up my Hat into the Air; this was followed by loud Huzzas; and then the People many of them were pleased to take me by the Hand and tell me I was restored to their former Friendship. I then went with two or three more to a neighbouring House, where we dined. I was then told the Company expected to wait on me into Hartford, where they expected I should publish my Declaration again. I reminded them of what they had before told me, that it might possibly ensnare the Assembly for them to have an Opportunity to act, or do any Thing about this Matter. Some inclined to forego this Step, but the main Body insisted on it. We accordingly mounted, I believe by this Time to the Number of near one Thousand and rode into Hart-

ford, the Assembly then sitting. They dismounted opposite the Assembly House, and about twenty Yards from it. Some of them conducted me into an adjoining Tavern, while the main Body drew up Four abreast and marched in Form round the Court House, preceeded by three Trumpets sounding: then formed into a Semi-circle at the Door of the Tavern. I was then directed to go down and read the Paper I had signed, and which I did within the Presence and Hearing of the Assembly; and only added that I wisht the Consequences of this Day's Transaction might be happy. This was succeeded with Liberty and Property and three Cheers; soon after which the People began to draw off, and I suppose went Home. I understand they came out with eight Days Provision, determined to find me, if in the Colony.

I believe the whole Time I was with them was better than three Hours, during a Part of which Time, I am told the Assembly were busy in forming some Plan for my Relief, the lower House thinking to send any Force, was it in their Power, might do more hurt than good to me, agreed to advise the sending some Persons of Influence to interpose by Persuasion, &c. and communicated their Desire to the upper Board, in Consequence whereof certain Gentlemen of the House were desired and were about to come to my Relief, it being about half an Hour's Ride; but before they set out they heard the Matter was finished. Had they come, I conclude it would have had no Effect.

This, according to the best of my Recollection, is the Substance of the Transaction; and in most of it I have had the concurrent Remembrance and Assent of the beforementioned Mr. Bishop. If I have omitted or misreported any Thing material, I hope it will be imputed to want of Memory only—as I mean not to irritate or inflame, but merely to satisfy the Curious, and to place Facts in a true and undisguised Light.

J. I.*

New-Haven. September 23, 1765.

* This account was published by Mr. Ingersoll in *The Connecticut Gazette* of September 27, 1765, and republished in the *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*.

P. S. I percieve these People, the Night before this Affair happened, placed a Guard round the Court House in Hartford, and at my usual Lodgings in that Town; also secured the Passage over the Bridge in the Town; and all the Passes even by the Farmington Road; to prevent my getting into Town that Night;—a needless Pains had they known it. The Members of the Assembly arrived in Town the same Evening.

LETTER TO WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

N: Haven, Oct. 1st, 1765.D^r S^r.

It is much if you dont by this time paint me out in imagination as a kind of fiend with a cloven foot and fury-forked tongue, a Court Parasite & a Lover of the Stamp Act; and yet the truth is that I love the Stamp Act about as little as you do, & remonstrated to the late Minister against it all in my power. What! and Accept of the Office of Distributer of Stamps when you had done? impossible! a Strange paradox this I suppose at present, & I dare say will remain so till y^e times are a little more moderate, & so I wont trouble you with an Attempt to Explain it.

We having now got rid of all the Stamp Officers, I suppose we have nothing left for us to do but just to get rid of the Stamp Act itself. I wait impatiently to See how you will go about this at N: York. I own I expect you will be the very first who will introduce it; not because I think you less patriotick than your neighbors, but because the Stamps will be handier to you than to most others.

I went to England last winter with the strongest prejudices against the Parliamentary Authority in this Case; & came home, I don't love to say convinced, but confoundedly begad & beswompt, as we say in Connecticut. Virtually represented, has been so prettily ridiculed that one should almost conclude that Calvinism itself is a blunder, and that Representation &

Election are always Correlitives. Nothing is more true than that no Taxes can be Imposed according to the English Law & Constitution, but by the peoples consent in Parliament by their representatives, and tis Equally a Maxim of English Liberty that no Laws can be made or abrogated but by their Consent in the same manner. Now I want you to tell me whether the Parliament can or cannot make any Laws that shall have any binding force upon us in America. No man sees in a stronger light than I do the dangerous tendency of admitting for a principle that the Parliament of Great Britain may tax us ad libitum. I view it as a gulph ready to devour, but when I look all round I am at a loss for a plan. I think there is all the reason in the world why we should be in a Situation Equally safe with the people in England; but how, and what, and when, I am almost weary in y^e Enquiry. I want to talk with you about four hours. I spent the whole winter among Politicians, both English & American, and among Em all found no plan for America that did not appear to me full of the greatest difficulty & Embarrassment.

Brother Johnson will be with you soon & can tell you more from me than I can Communicate in a Letter, & by him I shall be exceeding glad to Learn your real Sentiments in this matter. I think it behooves every one to do his utmost at a time when nothing but distress and trouble are in prospect.

I hear there are many Strange Stories to my disadvantage Current at N York, which I shall not give myself the trouble to contradict, as I know at this time tis not in my power to convince by the best & strongest evidence. My own consciousness of innocence no man can take from me.

Please to make my Comp^s. to M^{rs} Livingston & to all those gentlemen whom I had once the honor of calling my friends & who I hope will not quite give me up yet.

I am S^r. y^r Most Obed^t. Humb. Serv^t.

J. Ingersoll.

W^m Livingston Esq^r.

[Copy.]

LETTER TO THOMAS WHATELY.

New Haven Nov^r. 2^d. 1765

Dear Sir,

In my last which was the 9th. of Septemb^r. I acquainted you with the Appearancees in these parts relative to the Stamp Act, with the very general commotion among the people & with the many insults that had been offered to me as well as to the Act of Parliament itself, by burning in Effigy & the like. Since that, viz. on the 19th. of September I met with an Extraordinary instance of violence offered to me in person, & which Extorted from me a declaration of renouncing the office of Distributer of Stamps for this Colony, a partieular Account of which affair you have in the inclosed News paper of the 27th. of the same Septemb^r.

I also acquainted you that the General Assembly of last May, from the Moderation of the times, did not Seem at all disposed to oppose the Stamp Act, tho the Same was far from being agreeable to them; but the Confusions of later times occasioned a Choice of new Members, to the amount of about half the Numbers in the lower house of Assembly, for the late Session in Octob^r., & generally such as were very warm against the Stamp Act. This, with the general Cry that way, so fixt the Assembly in their opposition to the Act, that it has been almost dangerous for any person to talk of a Submission to it, and the result of all has been the passing the Resolutions contained in the enclosed Newspaper of the first instant, wherein among other things they say, the Stamp Act is unprecedented and unconstitutional—in which I am told all the Members of the lower house Concurred except about five*; the Upper house also Concurred by a Majority of voices, in directing to have the resolves go on the records of the Colony, and tis concluded to transact no business this winter that requires Stampt paper, nor until we

* Captain Henry Glover, of Newtown, Thomas Fitch, Jr., and Epenetus Platt, of Norwalk, Seth Wetmore, of Middletown, and Dr. Benjamin Gale, of Killingworth, are the five usually named in this list of exceptions; to these names are less confidently added Oliver Tousey, of Newtown, and Partridge Thatcher, of New Milford.

shall hear whether the Act will be repealed or not; if it should not, I dont yet know what we are to do next. The peoples Spirits are kept up; no person dares introduce or make use of any Stamps; those for this Colony are lodged, by my desire, in the fort at N. York, there to remain till further orders.

The Governour with much difficulty got Sworn to the Observance of the Act, all his Council except four expressly refusing to Swear him, & Even abruptly left the room when the oath was about to be administred, declaring they could not in Conscience be present, as they Esteemed the Oath inconsistent with the Provincial Oath of the Governour, & some of them say they shall not Scruple as Judges to Declare the Act of Parliament ipso facto void. Such are the times here.

The Governour, from the first, since the Act passed has been fully resolved to Comply with & obey it, as being a Command by the Authority of the Nation, which he is not disposed to Controvert or disobey. Of the same opinion & disposition are four of his Council and indeed many other people, but their voice is drowned amid the general Cry, and those in power who dare favor the Act may Expect Speedy Political death. A Governour in this Colony you know has no Negative to any Act of Assembly, nor can he Exercise Scarce any power but as the Assembly give him leave, & no one dares & few in power are disposed to punish any violences that are offered to the Authority of the Act:—in Short all the Springs of Government are broken, and nothing but Anarchy and Confusion appear in prospect.

Some think the distresses which the want of the Stampt papers will Occasion, will put the people upon moving the Assembly to desire me to introduce and distribute them. Should this be the Case I should not Scruple to Officiate, notwithstanding my forced resignation; but if, as others think, the people will Suffer any Evil rather than become Slaves, as they think they shall, by Conforming to the Act, & if in that Case any kind of force should be made Use of to guard the officer or the like, I should not think my person or dwelling safe was I to attempt to Exercise the Office, and therefore must in that Case beg to be Excused and that some other may be Appointed in my room.

Tis hard, my friend, after having done every thing in my power to prevent & to moderate the Act, as you are my Witness I did, to be Charged with being the Author of it, at least with having inanced it for the Sake of my own profit, then to have the Office, which you know was mentioned to me by you before ever I thought of it, wrested out of my hands by a Mob, and to be left to be insulted by that very Mob & those very persons who set Em on me, for my reward, having run the risque even of my very life also in the matter. These are trying things, I assure you, yet I keep up my Spirits & preserve, I think, a good degree of philosophick fortitude. I am not without friends, & those whom you would Esteem the better people in the Colony. The Governour is my fast friend, as I am his, & can only wish he had that Countenance and Approbation which his Conduct & behaviour upon all Occasions well deserves. I am full of Apprehension for my Country, which I cannot but regard notwithstanding the Abuses I have met with in it.

Some say the Stamp Act is to be repealed; if it should, I will be Content to Suffer all—and bear all without regret or recompence. Others say it is to be moderated only; this I think may well be done, as tis most likely we rather under than overcast the probable amount of it. Let me suggest that to repeal all the Probate testamentary part will take away the Cry of the widow & fatherless. The Registry of deeds amounts to but little & is very burdensome as we register in books. Process before Single Justices for forty shillings, being generally for debt, falls very much on the poor. Do try to get these Eased, if no more. . . .

I am S^r

Y^r Most Obed^t. Humb^l Serv^t.

J. Ingersoll.*

To Th: Whately, Esq^r.

Copy

* This letter having become public before being forwarded, was recalled by the author and never sent. Three separate drafts of the manuscript are preserved, which have been compared for the present purpose. A few foot-notes were added in the copy printed in *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*.

LETTER TO THE STAMP COMMISSIONERS.

N: Haven Nov^r. 2^d: 1765May it please Y^r. Hon^s.

Upon my first arrival from England at Boston the later End of July last, I found Every thing full as quiet with regard to the Stamp Act, as I expected, and from the informations I there received from this Colony had no reason to Expect any other than a Submission to it here, tho much ag^t. the peoples inclinations. About this time the resolves of the Assembly of Virginia (& which you have doubtless seen before now) began to be spread abroad in these parts, at which the peoples Spirits catching fire, burst forth into a blaze, first at Boston, then in this Colony & Elsewhere, an Account of all which you must have had before this time. The plan adopted by the populace was to force the Stamp Officers to a resignation & then to proceed in business as usual without the use of Stamps. I myself after being burnt in Effigy in many places by the populace & Suffering all the insult and indignity that either the wit or malice of men could invent, besides threats as to my person & house, met with a force on the 19th. of Sept^r., which Extorted from me a like declaration of renouncing the office of Distributer of Stamps for this Colony, as had been done in neighbouring Colonies,—a particular Account & detail of which affair is contained in the inclosed news paper of the 27th. of Sept^r. to which I beg leave to refer you. I was about to write you of this matter immediately after it happened, but on further thoughts concluded to wait till this time, as not knowing but that the people who offered this violence when they come to cool would think proper to release me; or that the Gen^l. Assembly of y^e Colony which meets annually in Octob^r. would take some Steps, either inviting me to officiate in the office or engaging some protection, in which case I should not have Scrupled to proceed in distributing the papers, if by these means I found it to be the mind of the body of the people that I should. But instead of my meeting with any thing of this kind, I have now to inform you that the House of Representatives of this Colony, at their late Sessions have among other things Voted the Act of Parliament imposing the Stamp duties *unprecedented and Unconstitutional*, & concluded

to let the Ensuing winter pass without transacting any business that requires the use of Stamp papers, & in the meantime to Petition Parliament for a repeal of the Act. What will be done in case the Act shall not be repealed I cannot tell. Gov^r. Fitch from the first, as also four of his Council, altho' heartily wishing the Act had not passed, have been disposed to Submit to it, as to A Law Enacted by the Authority of Parliament & which they should not undertake to dispute or disobey: which four as well as the Gov^r, Especially the later, have but too much reason to Expect to fall a political Sacrifice to the resentments of the people; the one for presuming to take, the others to administer, the Oath required by the Act; the Lower house I understand all concurred in their resolves, Except about five persons.

The first parcel of Stamp papers designed for this Colony arrived at New York about a week ago & are Safely lodged by my desire in the fort there. I have advised with Gov^r. Fitch about Sending for them into this Colony. He thinks it by no means Safe as we have no Strong hold in which to place them, & the peoples threats continued in the most open & highhanded strain to destroy them if they come; specimens of which threatnings you may see in the inclosed Newspaper of the first instant, & which contains the resolutions of the house of representatives of this Colony. Indeed you must know & be fully informed from all quarters that the rage of the people is so great that it is almost dangerous to say a word in favour of a Submission to the Act, & that it is at present absolutely impossible for me to distribute any of the papers. What will be the End of these things God only knows. Some think the distresses of the people which will be occasioned for want of y^e Stamps will force them even to invite me to distribute them. The people most of them say they are as willing I should distribute them as another, but that they shall not be distributed by anybody. Others think they will even Suffer death & Every Evil before they will Conform to the Act, as thinking from that moment they shall commence Slaves. Should the people conclude to take Em I should be willing to distribute the papers, but if there must be any kind of force or compulsion used to this End, I shall be glad to be excused.

It is said by some the Act will be abated in part, by others that it will be repealed. If the later takes place I shall be glad to drown all my little interests in the general good; but if part only is intended to be taken off, I beg leave to suggest to ease all Probate & Testamentary matters—the Cry of the Widow & fatherless would not then be heard, and Estates here are but Small & can but illy bear any duty; also the duty registering deeds, which will raise but a trifle & yet occasions so much trouble, especially here where we make use of books to register in; also the Judgments & process for forty Shillings, which with us is before Single Justices of the peace, & being generally for Debt the duty falls heavy on the poor. I think these abatements might well enough be made, as tis probable to me the computations of the Sums expected to be raised were rather under than overcast by the Ministry & those who assisted them in that matter and money in the Colonies at this time is certainly extremely Scarce.

I shall write to you again soon & in the mean time, while I impatiently wait the Issue of the measures on your side the water as well as ours, shall consult the Governour from time to time and pursue such measures in disposing & securing of the Stamp papers as I shall Judge will turn to the best Account of his Majestys interest.

I have received no letter or directions whatever from the Board, but shall expect something by the next Packet. The Gov^r. cannot but wonder & regret that he should not have received from the Ministry or otherwise one single word about the Stamp Act.

I am Your most Obed^t.

& most Humb^l Serv^t.

J: Ingersoll.*

To the Hon^l. Commiss^{rs}. of Stamps.

* This letter, which was finally withheld and never sent, is preserved in two separate drafts among Mr. Ingersoll's papers. As printed in his *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*, with foot-notes, it is drawn mainly from the longer of the two manuscript drafts; but the other draft is here followed, as apparently representing the author's maturer judgment.

LETTER TO RICHARD JACKSON.

N Haven Nov^r. 3^d. 1765D^r. S^r.

I wrote you from Boston soon after my arrival there from England in July. Since that time I have been too much Employed for my own Safety & the regulation of my Conduct amidst the Confusions of this Country to be able to attend to the rights of friendship. When I first came home every thing appeared tolerably quiet, but the Virginia Resolves taking air threw Boston into a flame, where after having offered the highest indignities to M^r. Oliver the Mob fell upon Lieu^t. Gov^r Hutchinsons house & destroyed it, with every thing in it, with a more than Savage fury. The Same Spirit Spread itself into this Colony, where I suffered in common with my brother officers the indignity of being burnt in Effigy & of having every ill natured thing published of me in Newspapers in the most unrestrained manner. I have been called Traitor, Parrieide & the hardest of Names—am Charged with having Contributed to get the Stamp Act passed, & all to secure to myself the Office of Distributor.

On the 19th. of Septemb^r. I met with a very Extraordinary violence & which Extorted from me a Declaration of renouncing the afores^d. office, a particular account of which you have in the enclosed Newspaper of the 27th. of the same Sep^r. Since that time I have been a little more at Ease, but the Colony as well as the Neighbouring Provinces are in a great ferment. Our Assembly of last May I am told were moderate, but that of Oct^r. have gone so far as to Vote the Stamp Act unprecedented & unconstitutional, as you will see by the inclosed Newspaper of the first Instant. The Gov^r. with much difficulty got Sworn by four of the Council, the others refusing as thinking the Act of Parliament derogatory to the rights of the Colony;—these four & the Gov^r. are all now threatened in the highest manner with political death, so strong are the peoples resentments against the Stamp Act. It has been generally concluded not to use any Stamp papers, but to lie still this winter in full Confidence that you will repeal the Act: if you dont I cannot tell you

whats to be done next. For my own part I shall be glad it may be repealed, altho I was sure in that case to be almost trampled upon. You know I did not aid or assist in bringing the Stamp Act upon us, but was as unwilling to have it pass as any man could possibly be. You know also, I believe, that the Office of distributer was first mentioned to me by M^r. Whately without my seeking or even before I thought of it.

If the Stamp Act should be abated only, pray attempt to take off the whole of matters testamentary; that branch of the duty makes a great uneasiness & is really burdensome upon our Small Estates. The Registry of Deeds will be very burdensome, or rather inconvenient, as we register in books, & will amount to but little. Process before Single Justices to the amount of forty Shillings, being mostly for debt, falls principally upon the poor. We had rather have a little than nothing at all; a repeal of the whole is what we wish for.

We have had a great Congress, as you will hear, whose representations & petitions will be sent to you, as also instructions from this Colony how to prefer & urge the same. The matter of your right to tax us you will see is uppermost & mixt in with all the other matter. How far these Petitions will serve us I cant tell. I hope you will do Every thing in your power to obtain for them a reception & hearing, however different from your Judgment they are drawn. You will Easily see by Every thing we say or do on this side the water that our Notions of our Constitutions & rights are such as I suspect you on your side will call Notions of independance—where & how things will end I dont know.

Some think the distresses of the people occasioned by the want of the Stamp papers will move them to desire the Assembly to apply to me to distribute them, in which Case I should not be against doing it, notwithstanding what has passed; but without such request from the Publick or being Convinced that it is the general inclination of the people to make Use of them, I shall not think my dwelling or person safe was I to attempt it, nor yet incline to have the business;—indeed at present it is as much as a persons life is worth to make use of Stampt paper.

Think for me in my critical Scituation & be so good as to let me know what I ought to do; in the mean time I will hope for better times. You cannot Easily conceive the perplexity of Scituation I have been in, between my Obligation & duty of Office on one side and the rage of a distracted multitude on the other, & for weeks together I have been under Constant Apprehensions, at least for my house & Substance.

With Comp^s. to all friends

I remain Y^r most Obe^d. Humb^l Serv^t.

J Ingersoll.

P. S. I perceive you have had a great revolution of Ministry since I left you, but that they Expect they shall be able to return things back into their former Channel again. I care not who are in, so they are friends to America.—A Map of this Colony drawn by one Mott, one of our people, is lately sent over to the Secretary of State, which I shall be glad you will see. I think it is done in a very accurate as well as Elegant manner.—The Gov^r. did all he could to prevent the Extremes that have happened, but you know he has little power as Gov^r. This Colony is Eighty thousand pounds in debt, arrears of taxes that cannot be collected by reason of the poverty of those on whom they are laid.

Dec^r. 19. this Letter was dispatched & recalled on a Surmise that I had wrote something detrimental to the Colonies interests. To prevent all Suspicion for the future I shall write no letters across the water but such as are absolutely necessary till things are more settled than they now are. I hope you will be the Colonies friend, whatever some people here may think of me, and I hope I can yet say with a much greater man than myself, "Whatever Errors I have committed in Publick life I have always loved my Country; whatever faults may be objected to me in private life, I have always loved my friend; whatever Usage I have received from my Country, it shall never make me break with her; whatever Usage I have received from my friends, it shall never make me break with one of them while I

think him a friend to my Country." I have received much undeserved favour and good at the hands of my Country, & shall I not bear with a little Abuse, especially upon so irritating an Occasion as the Stamp Act.

Let Mr. Whately know I dont think it best for me to write to him just now, but shall be glad to hear from him.

Shew as much of this as you shall think necessary on my Acc^o. to the Commiss^s. of Stamps, if you shall find that my Letter to them dispatched with this shall by any means miscarry.

J. I.*

R. Jackson Esq^r.

Copy

LETTER TO THE STAMP COMMISSIONERS.

N: Haven Dec^r. 2: 1765

May it please Y^r. Hon^s.

In my last which was of y^e 2^d. Ult. I acquainted you fully with the Several Occurrences I met with since my Arrival in these parts & with the disposition of the people with regard to the Stamp papers. I have now further to acquaint you that the people in this Colony as well as Elsewhere continue, & if possible increase in their opposition to the Act & seem determined, at all Events, not to Submit to it. As there is therefore no prospect of my being able to Serve Either them or his Majesty in the Office of Distributer for this Colony, I have to Desire that their Lordships of the Treasury will Excuse me from that office. We flatter ourselves here that there will be no Occasion for any New Appointment, as hoping the Act will be repealed this Session. The office is at this time the most odious here in America of any thing that can well be imagined. I have found myself in the most distressed Scituation between the Obligations of my Office & the resentments of y^e people, but hope it will not be long before I shall be rid of both.

* From the manuscript copy of Mr. Ingersoll's letter, published also in his *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*.

I have not as yet rec^d. any Letter from the Board. I shall take the best Care I can to secure the Stamp papers for his Majestys Use & take such Steps to that End as the Nature & Circumstances of things shall require & admit of.

I am

Y^r. Hon^s. most Obed^t.

& most Humb^l Serv^t.

J Ingersoll.*

To the Hon^e. Com^s. of Stamps

Copy

LETTER TO WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

N-Haven 2 Dec^r. 1765

D^r. S^r.

it is a time when mankind Seem to think they have a right not only to Shoot at me with the Arrow that flyeth by Day, but to Assassinate me in the dark, as you will see by the inclosed Letter which I desire you will be so good as to read, then Seal & Deliver to the person to whom directed, and to let him know that you are acquainted with the Contents, or not, as you shall think best. The truth is I Strongly Suspect that y^r. M^r. Chandler was not the Original Author of the Story.

'tis pretty certain that my letters have been intercepted & broke open—they were sent to N York by M^r. John Ray—he was at our M^r. Chandlers after I gave them to him & he, M^r. Chandler, saw them in his hands. This I happen'd to know only by M^r Chandlers dropping such a word some little time ago; further I have not been able as yet to trace the matter. Now if you think proper, I shall be glad you will send for your Neighbour Chandler to y^r house. & if he will to talk freely y^e whole matter; it may be he will Consider you as a mediator, as indeed I wish you would be, and settle y^e matter. I want only a reasonable Satisfaction & am willing you should be Judge of that. . . .

* From the manuscript copy; published also in *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*.

were ever times like these? any man has it in his power at this time by suggesting any ill natured thing about what he may suppose I have wrote either about publick or private affairs, to Occasion a Deputation of a Com^{te}. from a Body of People consisting of not less than three or four thous^d men, to come to me & tell me if I will satisfy 'em in the matter by letting that body of people see the Copies of my Letters it will be well—if I wont they cannot promise in what way they will see Cause to resent it—that it was with difficulty they could keep them from publishing in News papers the whole matter which had been reported, even without Enquiring of me or otherwise any further about it. The Gentlemen who came to me upon the Subject were Captains Liddle & Cleveland & Cap^t. Asah^l. Fitch; they appeared friendly—behaved with Candor & Declared themselves Satisfyed with what I had wrote. I found my self under that kind of Necessity above described of Delivering out to them y^e Copies of y^e Letters I had wrote to y^e Com^e. of Stamps & to M^r Whately with a number of other Copies & original Letters & which I conclude will be publickly read to Large numbers of people & that before the originals (some of them) will have half reached the persons to whom they are directed—which you know will be Esteemed a great indeecency by people who are not distracted with the present times. Not only so but in private Letters altho' there should be nothing wicked or offensive you know how disagreeable it must be to have ones own most free thoughts like tete a tete Conversations proclaimed aloud on the house tops.

the Substance of what I have wrote home in those Letters is giving a general & I believe it will be thought a very Just & Candid Account of the publick transactions relative to the Stamp Act; as to y^e particuar matters alledged I have said, notwithstanding all the hardships I have undergone in this affair, I shall be glad to have the Stamp Act repealed, that in that Case I shall be glad to drown my little interests in the general good—that I shall be glad to suffer all, to bear all without regret or recompence—that if it is intended to Abate of y^e Act only I suggest what Articles I think ought to be taken off with some of

y^e reasons. I press M^r. Jackson to do his utmost to obtain for the Petitions a hearing &c. I inform them that some people think y^e distresses of y^e people will oblige them to ask me to furnish them with the Stamp papers—which if it should happen in a gen^l. way & y^e Assembly desire me to do it, I should not think myself so bound by my promise of renunciation but that I should do it, but that I could not do it without such gen^l. Invitation, & that many thought the people would suffer death & Every Evil before they would Submit to y^e Act as thinking from that moment they shall Commence Slaves &c &c. In short I wrote in as strong terms as I d[missing] considering the Board of Com^s I knew (whatever may be thought here) will consider me as their Officer bound as well by my Obligation as otherwise to do every thing that I properly & reasonably could to Carry y^e Act into Execution, until some other should be appointed in my room. I tell them that if any kind of force must be used, as guarding y^e Officer or y^e like, I must ask to be excused & that their Lordships of y^e Treasury will appoint some other person; in short to that p[missing] in general that I cannot be their distributer unless y^e people of y^e Colony are willing I should, & Volenti non fit injuria you know. The Gentlemen who came to me found no fault with these Sentiments, said they were y^e same that were mentioned at Weathersfield &c and that if it should so happen that before these things can be known at home & proper Answers & new Appointments made, y^e people in gen^l. should conclude to take y^e Stamps it would doubtless be my duty to supply them with them; but there is no danger of this as I fully acquaint y^e board, telling them what y^e Assembly have Voted & that it is even dangerous for any person to talk of a Submission to y^e Act. Let me hear from you upon the Subject of this Letter as soon as conveniently you can. There are but few friends at this Day whom I dare trust with my whole heart. You are one of them.

I am y^{rs}. &c

J. Ingersoll.*

* This letter is taken from the manuscript collections belonging to the *Connecticut Historical Society*.

[To
 W^m. S: Johnson Esq^r.
 at
 Stratford.]

LETTER OF RICHARD RAY.

New York December 12th: 1765

M^r: Ingersall

Sir—Yours of the 2^d: Instant I but yesterday Rec^d: or should have immediately answered it, by it I find that I am Suspected of Opening & Communicating the Contents of the letters you Sent by me to be forwarded to England and am surprised from what such suspicion Should arise. There has been no opportunity to forward them since they have been in my Care or should have sent them as directed. In order to Clear my self from being thought the opener & Communicator of the Contents of letters, that I had undertaken to serve a friend in forwarding, I am under the Necessity of Returning them, from which by the impression of your Seal you Can Determine wether such Suspicion is Justly founded. You have them here inclosed: the Ship Grace Cap^t: Pell will Sail for London in about 10 or 12 Days, by whom I should have sent them, but as I am suspected of Communicating the Contents of what I never knew, to Clear my self I have Returned them: & am

S^r: Your Humb^l: Serv^t:

Rich^d: Ray.*

LETTER OF JOHN CHANDLER.

S^r

have rec^d. your favor of 2^d instant. Should readily have given y^t intelligence & satisfaction you requird, had not the middle of your Epistle contained several *menaces*, which led me

* A young merchant, son of John Ray, of New York, died 1784.

to conclude y^t I should be calld to clear myself in a more publick manner & being not conscious of guilt, I care not to flee when unjustly persued or to be intimidated to the humour of any man. However, would let you know that I was not the original of any report made to Col^l. Putnam; neither was I ever guilty of making up of or even thinking of those expressions you charge me with, demanding "*whether I had them from another or not*"; & y^t what was said if traced back will come directly on a professd friend of yours who said, as I am informd, that he had the same words from your own mouth, but as mentioning names would inevitably make breaches in a valuable friendship, I shall decline it to the last extremity. Am however sorry to find y^t a fals suspition raisd immagination, or a report as you say hath bin to you of bad consequence, although you had the pleasure to hear the com^{te}. "say they were satisfied with your conduct & found the story to be groundless."

Remain S^r your wrongfully suspected

hum^b Serv^t

Jn^o Chandler.*

Stratford 15th Decemb 1765

[For

Jared Ingersol Esq^r

N. Haven]

LETTER OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Dear Sr:

Agreable to my promise I have confer'd several times with M^r. Chandler on the subject of your Letters to him, & to me. He utterly disclaims having Originated any part of the Story himself, but says he deliver'd it precisely as he receiv'd it from his Friend, who had it from a Person who receiv'd it from an

* John Chandler, born 1736. died 1795, was graduated at Yale in 1759, and served as Tutor in 1761-63. His father's second cousin, Joshua Chandler (Yale 1747). was a prominent citizen of New Haven.

intimate Friend of your's, who collected it from a Conversation with you upon the subject of Stamps. But he will not be persuaded to mention the Names of those thro' whom it came. He also insists the affair was not represented *to* him nor *by* him in the Terms you mention, nor in any Language that could convey such Idea's, or indeed anything like them. By his Account of the matter he only represented, that you had wrote to the Commissioners of Stamps & to Mr. Whately upon the subject, without mentioning, or pretending to point out the purport of your Letters: and supposes that the People to the Eastward have thence Imagin'd that you must have wrote in the manner they have represented. They have in Truth excellent Imaginations in that part of the Country, and it would not be very surprising to find a story of this kind exaggerated amongst them. To discover the Person's thro' whose hands this story came to him, Mr. Chandler thinks would be a breach of Friendship unpardonable in him, unless under an absolute necessity to do it, and it would also he thinks make a disagreeable breach between you & y^r. Friend who took it first from you; but was he at Liberty he says he could by Evidence exculpate himself. I told him you would run the venture of the breach with your Friend, & desired him to see his Author who might perhaps consent to have his name mention'd. He took time to do it, but still gave me the same answer. He alledges that he had not the least Intention to misrepresent or Injure you, & if he has been the means of doing it, the transgression was involuntary, and he hopes you will take no farther notice of it. He add's finally that he expects to be at New Haven this week, when he will wait upon you & have a farther Eclaircissement upon the subject. I hope by comparing his representation of the matter with what you have from others, you will be able to discover who has been the Calumniator, & cause him to do you right: towards which if I can be farther useful you will freely command

D^r. S^r. Y^r. most affectionate humble Serv^t.

W^m. Sam^l. Johnson.

Stratford

Dec^r. 16th: 1765

LETTER TO THE STAMP COMMISSIONERS.

N Haven Jan^y. 4th. 1766May it please Y^r. Hon^{rs}.

Upon my first arrival in these parts I found Every thing full as quiet with Regard to y^e Stamp Act as I Expected, knowing the same would at least be very unwelcome to the people; but soon after the Virginia Resolves began to be spread abroad, the peoples Spirits took fire & burst forth into a blaze. The plan adopted by the populace was to force the Stamp Officers to a resignation of their offices & then to proceed in business as usual without Stampt paper. Open violences first began at Boston, where M^r. Oliver suffered in the manner you must be particularly acquainted with before now; then the Lieut. Gov^r. & so on to Rhode Island & this Colony. I suffered in this Colony in Common with my Brother Officers Elsewhere the indignity of being burnt in Effigy in many Towns & of having Every ill natured thing said of me in Newspapers in the most unrestrained manner, & was besides under constant Apprehensions for some time. at least for my house & Substance, from the threats of y^e people because I would not resign, as they called it, that is, declare I would not officiate in my Office.

In this Critical Seituation between the Obligations & Duty of my Office on one hand and the resentments & even rage of y^e people on the other, I declared publickly that I would not Exercise the Office of Distributer if generally disagreeable to the people, but would seek a dismissal from it: indeed I knew if y^e people should generally Determin to run the risque of a non Compliance with the Act of Parliament, it would be to little purpose for me or any other to hold the Office.

I hoped this would have stopt the fury of y^e people, but it had little or no effect. Accordingly on the 19th. of Sept^r. I met with a Violence which Extorted from me a Declaration of renouncing the Office in the manner as you will see particularly described in the inclosed Newspaper of y^e. 27th. of y^e same Sept^r. to which I beg leave to Refer you.

As our Gen^l. Assembly sets annually in Oct^r.. I chose to wait & see how far y^e people, when Cooler, would discover an inclination

to have & make use of the Stamp papers, as I should certainly have thought it my Duty, notwithstanding all that had passed, to have distributed the papers to the people, had they generally or the Assembly desired it, at least until I could have heard from the Board, & this y^e people have known; but you will see by the other Newspaper of y^e 1st. of Nov^r. that the Assembly as well as people are sufficiently opposed to y^e Stamp Act. The Gov^r. got sworn to y^e Observance of it, but much Clamour of many of y^e people has ensued. In short, such is y^e general opposition that no man at this time would Venture to make Use of Stamp paper, was it Ever so Easy to be come at, and it would be dangerous to punish any breaches of y^e Act.

It has been generally Concluded by the people not to transact any business this winter that requires the Use of Stamp paper, in hopes the Parliament will repeal the Act; if they should not, I cannot tell what will be done next, only in general that According to the present Appearance of things the people seem Determined to Suffer Every Evil, rather than Submit to it.

I have Advised with the Gov^r. about Suffering the Stamp papers that have Arrived at N: York to be bro^t. into this Colony. He is clearly of my opinion that it is by no means Safe, as we have no Strong hold to place them in, & the people in the most open manner declare they will Seize & take them from me as soon as they shall arrive. In short, you must be fully Convinced from the Accounts which you will be continually receiving from all quarters that it is at present Absolutely impossible for me or any other person to take a Single Step in the Office in this Colony; & I am glad, by y^e help of the Gov^r. of New York & Gen^l. Gage whose aid for that purpose I have requested, to preserve the papers from being destroyed. Such are the times here & almost Every where else throughout y^e Continent of America. I myself have suffered Shipwreck of my reputation among the people for accepting this very Obnoxious Office, & after having run the risque of Even life itself in endeavouring to Discharge y^e Obligations & Duty of y^e Office which I am under, I see no way but to ask for a Dismission from the same & to set down contented with the resentments of y^e

people for my reward. They generally indeed say they are as willing I should have the Office as another, but that they have no need, nor will have any.

Your favour of y^e 13th of Sept^r. giving an Acc^o. of one parcel of Stamp paper N^o 1 shipt on board the Edward, Cap^t. Davis, also N^o. 2 p^r. Cap^t. Haviland, & N^o. 3 p^r. Cap^t. Tillet, I rec^d. the 22^d Ult, together with my Deputation & Instructions; also y^r. favour of the 11th. of Oct^r. giving an Acc^o. of one parcel of Stamp paper shipt for Boston on Board the John & Sukey, Cap^t. Bruce, N^o. 40, not yet arrived, I rec^d. the 27th. Ult. I have taken Care as mentioned above to have these taken proper Care of & protected as they arrive, but I could not possibly, was I to attempt it, open those parcels or do any one thing with them.

Former Letters of mine to the Board, giving a very full & particular Acc^o of y^e Occurrences that I have met with since coming home, have been obliged to be recalled & thereby a Delay of Information has happened, but I hope no other inconvenience. You cannot easily conceive the perplexed as well as distressed Situation I have been in, and shall hope for your Candor & Excuse accordingly.

You have one Letter from me before this which I trust will get to you, bearing Date 2^d. Ult.

I am &c.

J. I.*

To y^e Hon^l. Comm^s. of Stamps
Copy

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE CONNECTICUT GAZETTE.

Whereas I have lately received two anonymous Letters, calling on me (among other Things) to give the Publick some further Assurance with regard to my Intentions about exercising the Office of Distributer of Stamps for this Colony, as some others have done since receiving our Commissions or Deputa-

* From a copy preserved among Mr. Ingersoll's manuscripts: published also in his *Letters relating to the Stamp Act*.

tions of Office for that Purpose; and that I confirm the same by Oath. And altho' I don't think it best ordinarily to take Notice of such Letters, nor yet to take Oaths upon such Kind of Occasions; yet (as I have good Reason to think those Letters came from a large Number of People belonging to this Colony, and do respect a Subject of a very interesting Nature, and the present Times being peculiarly difficult and critical, and I myself at no Loss or Difficulty about making known my Resolutions and Intentions respecting the Matter aforesaid) I have concluded to make the following Declaration and to confirm the same by an Oath; that is to say,

1. I never was nor am I now desirous, or even willing, to hold or exercise the aforesaid Office, contrary to the Mind and Inclination of the general Body of People in this Colony.

2. I have for some Time been and still am persuaded, that it is the general Opinion and Sentiment of the People of this Colony (after mature Deliberation) that the Stamp Act is an Infringement of their Rights and dangerous to their Liberties, and therefore I am not willing, nor will I, for that and other good and sufficient Reasons, as I suppose, (and which I hope and trust will excuse me to those who appointed me) exercise the said Office against such general Opinion and Sentiment of the People: and, generally and in a Word, will Never at all, by myself or otherwise, officiate under my said Deputation. And as I have, so I will, in the most effectual Manner I am able, apply to the proper Board in England, for a Dismission from my said Office.

J. Ingersoll.

New-Haven, ss. Jan. 8, 1766.

Then personally appeared Jared Ingersoll, Esq., and made Oath to the Truth of the foregoing Declaration, by him subscribed.

Before me,

DANIEL LYMAN, Just. Peace.

As to the Letters and Papers which I lately delivered out of my Hands. I beg leave to acquaint the Publick that I did not expect there would have been any Publications of them

(especially of any particular detached Sentences) but by me, or by mutual Consent;—that those Paragraphs which have lately been published in the New-London Gazette, I conceive to be, in some Parts, by some Mistake, differently worded from the Originals, and commented upon very differently from what I imagine would be thought the true Meaning was the whole of all my said Letters and Papers published together. This I intend shall be done as soon as I shall recover the Papers again; and in the mean Time shall hope the Publick will not undertake to make a full Judgment in the Matter. And this I think may well be done, as those particular Letters at which Umbrage has been taken are recalled; and if, by Mistake or otherwise, any Thing was said in them that was liable to a Construction dis-favourable to the Colony or to any particular Persons, I shall be always ready to put every Thing to rights whenever *They* shall call upon me for that Purpose; and to prevent all Trouble of the Kind for the future, shall take Care to write no Letters abroad (until Times are more settled than they now are) without first shewing them to such Gentlemen as, at this Day, will be entirely confided in.

J. I.

[From *The Connecticut Gazette*, January 10, 1766.]

 LETTER TO THE STAMP COMMISSIONERS.
N: Haven Jan^y. 10: 1766May it please y^r Hon^{rs}.

Since my last to the Board I have been Obligated to take an Oath not to Exercise the Office of Distributer of Stamps for this Colony, much for the Reasons & at that kind of Request of y^e people which has occasioned M^r. Oliver & some others to do the Like. Tis difficult & I believe needless for me to undertake to Explain these things to you. I can only say in general that the greatest part of America is at present in a Scituation altogether incompatible with the being of any Stamp Offices in it, and as it is now absolutely impossible for me in Every view of y^e

matter to Officiate in my Office, I have humbly to ask & hope that I may be Officially dismissed therefrom. I shall take Care to do my utmost to preserve y^e Stamp papers Dispatched for this Colony, & am

Y^r. Most Ob^t. &c

J. I.*

To the Hon^l. Com^s. of Stamps

LETTERS OF DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

Killingworth 13th Jan^y 1765 [error for 1766]

Dear S^r

I receiv^d your Fav^r. & the several Packetts Inclos'd just after I had return'd from Saybrook whither I went to send some Messengers over to the Babel Convention,† some who I judg'd might have some Influence to Mitigate their Rage & Folly, viz Col^l Willard & Cap^t Shipman,‡ the Two Saybrook Members—beside several Pimps & Smuglers to Gull the Rabble & sift out every thing that passes from Head Quarters. I had thoughts of going my self but to tell the truth I was both asham'd and afraid, *asham'd* to be seen in the Comp^y of so brainless, thoughtless, designing, undesigning Rabble, *afraid* of being included with them when they are whipt, for without the Spirit of Prophesey I can foretell, Stamp Act Repeal'd or not repeal'd, such proceedings will meet with Rubbers in the *Head* if not the *Tail*. However after the Receipt of your Packet I had gone over had I not Previously Engag'd my self for Middletown on that very day in an Important Case—however as soon as I return will give you the Best Accounts my Embassadeurs can provide.

* From the manuscript copy among the Ingersoll papers; published in *Letters relating to the Stamp Act*.

† A meeting of the people of New London County was called to meet in Lyme on January 14. to discuss the situation of public affairs.

‡ Samuel Willard and John Shipman were the Deputies from Saybrook to the last General Assembly.

A more wicked Sceem I think never was on foot in this Colony to destroy us. But Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat.

The Manuscript I mentioned to you is an historical Acc^t of the several Factions wh. have subsisted in this Colony, originating with the N London Society*—thence metamorphisd into the Faction for paper Emissions on Loan, thence into N Light, into y^e Susquehannah & Delaware Factions—into Orthodoxy—now into Stamp Duty—the Actors the same, each Change drawing in some New Members—but it contains such Stubborn Facts & will so Blacken some mens Coats that I fear the Author would not Long survive the Impression.

Your private Letters to me will make the Best Improvement if I am able to serve your Cause in my occasional Jornies in y^e Country. I may not at this time add but that

I am S^r your frind

& most Hum^l. Serv^t.

B Gale.

P. S. as I write free by your boy I trust you will not Expose it.

[To

Jared Ingersol Esq^r

at

N Haven]

Killingworth 8 Feb^y 1766

S^r

As you requested in y^r Last to me to know the result of the Lime Congress, having never before had an Opp^y that I could safely venture, I now would Inform, of which no doubt you have before this time had Intelligence, that your Letters in the general were well approv'd, or at least that you do not deserve to be damn'd for them, & that there still is a day of Grace for you. But with regard to the main Business that I sent some over to

* "The New London Society United for Trade and Commerce" was chartered in 1732, but its course in issuing bills of credit resembling the paper currency of the Colony caused its downfall in 1733.

penetrate the Secret Views of their herding together, I have learnt from Good Authority, from those who are in the Secrets of the Club, their design is to fix and unite on Men, who they conceive will serve their Turn, that the final conclusions are not yet made. One of the men I procured to go made Application to know what men we should Fix on Westward. It was Answer'd, Col^l. Walker* was well Qualified. My Agent then proposed M^r Rowland,* but was answer'd by a significative Shake of y^e Head, which shew'd how Ignorant he was in men & then reply'd, no, by no means, M^r Rowland is a man of too much Sense, he will not answer by any means, and very readily mentioned M^r Davenport*: to be short, they have taken Measures that from their early date & too great Forwardness, will overset their System of Politicks. They begin, the more sensible part, to be ashamed of the thing. Others see clearly through their Designs, & Dispipe the thing when it appears to them *puris naturalibus* from a principle of Honesty natural to Humane Nature and I think I can venture to predict that no Alterations will happen in y^e Council unless the dropping M^r Sheldon for Sam^l Johnson.

I hear you are appointed Judge of Admiralty for Connecticut &c—£800 Sallary; if true I Heartily Congratulate you.

I am S^r

Your Most Hum^l. Serv^t

B. Gale

[Jared Ingersol Esq^r

at

N Haven

p^r M^r Elliot]

* Elisha Sheldon, of Litchfield, Robert Walker, of Stratford. Abraham Davenport, of Stamford. and Samuel William Johnson, of Stratford, were elected to the Governor's Council in the following May; David Rowland, of Fairfield, was not elected.

LETTER TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT.

New Haven Feb^y 1st 1766S^r

You will be pleased to take the following Account as an Answer to the Objections wick you mention as made to my Conduct relative to the Stamp Act. And first as to my being y^e Colonies Agent last year, the Facts are these. I sailed from N London for England the 20 Day of October 1764 and arrived in London y^e 10 of Dec^r following. I went on my own Business, and not charged with any affairs of the Colony. About the middle of Jan^y, & about two or three Weeks as I remember before the Stamp Bill was carried into Parliment, I receiv'd a Letter from the Gov^r, acquainting me that the Assembly in Oct^r (wick must have been after I sailed) had by their Vote desired me to assist the Colonies Agent during my stay in England. This I did to y^e best of my Ability, not only in y^e Affair of y^e Stamp Act, but in Masons and other Affairs; but as to my haveing receiv'd any Monies or other thing as a reward for these Services, there is no foundation for y^e Story. I have neither Asked for, had or receiv'd any thing therefor in any way or manner whatever.

There is not in those Letters wick I lately delivered out of my Hands one word about a Change of Government is [? as] lately printed in y^e N -- London Gazette, nor do I therein say that y^e Gov^r & four Consellers who Swore him or any other person in y^e Colony are Freinds to y^e Stamp A-t, but the contrary as I should construe y^e Expressions in my Letters. The Truth is that I endeavoured in those Letters to give y^e Commissioners of Stamps or others to whom I wrote a pretty ample & full Narrative of the several Transactions in y^e Colony wick were Publick. in Order as well to serve myself for not having comported with my Obligations & Bond of office as to shew to y^e People abroad the Quantity or kind of Opposition that was made by y^e People of the Colony to the Stamp Act. I thought it best & indeed in some measure Necessary for me so to do, but whether it was altogether prudent for me to do it, or whether I did not mistake the Sentiments of some Gentlemen whose Con-

duct in certain Transactions I had occasion to mention (tho I dont mention any Names) I will not undertake to say, and those Letters are recalled [and I?] did freely submit them to such alterations as should be candidly advised too. In a Word I have the Opinion of Gentlemen of Worth who have seen those Letters, that the Publick have no Reason to take Umbrage or be irritated at any Thing I have Said or Wrote in them: at the same Time it is not impossible but they & every judicious person may think that some Things contained in them had better been left out than to have been inserted. They are recalled & whatever harm they might have done had they been transmitted are prevented. I shall publish these & all my other Letters lately delivered out, as soon as I shall recover them, unless I shall be advised to defer it for some little Time.

I have always Thought & Said on both Sides y^e Water that for America to be taxed by a British Parliment was in my humble Opinion of dangerous Tendency, however many & urgent y^e Reasons might be on the side of Parliment to come into such a measure; but after they had done it, I did suppose y^e People of America would most probably submit to it; but as they have thought best to risque y^e Consequences of a non Submission, & as y^e Emergences of Government absolutely require the Administration of Justice to & among y^e People—I cannot but be of Opinion that it is best for the common Law Courts to proceed in Business as usual, & hope y^e Courts & others who may expose themselves to penalties for so doing will be saved from blame as well as harm under all the circumstances & situation of Affairs.

I myself being now placed at an absolute remove from the Affair of Distributor am determined to take my share of danger in this matter, and hope when y^e People see me embarked in y^e same bottom with themselves they will think I am in earnest.

I am S^r

your most Obedient

Humble Servant

J. Ingersol*

* This letter, without address, is printed from a copy (made by a careless scribe) now in the *New York Public Library*.

LETTERS OF JOSEPH CHEW.

New London Feb^{ry}. 5th. 1766

Dear Sir

Since the Rece^t of your Letter I have been from home untill yesterday; it came to me so torn & worn that the Contents might have been Examined by any Person who had the Least Curiosity. I have seen your letters* and am surprised at the Clamour they have made; that to M^r Jackson I Read in all Company's at New Port and did not meet with a man but what Expressed his Astonishm^t. at the Clamour. But now D^r S^r. what method do you take or who do you Consult on those matters you have lately been engaged in? Your letters are discover'd, or you mention the Contents—or perhaps they are guessed at. A fine Country of Liberty we live in. I have done Every thing in my Power to Promote the Remonstrances to the King & Palemint for our Relief; Never Showed the Least inclynation to Countenance the Stamp Act—nay I defy the Devil & his Imps of his own and this world to say I ever dirictly or Indirictly had or Ever thought of having any thing to do with the Act. What is more, have found fault with you for not at once giving up the Office; and will you believe me I am now become the attention of the Sons of Liberty who are desired by some of their western friends Closely to watch & observe my Actions and motions, for that I Carry on a very traterous & wicked Correspondance with you. This I have from such Persons as the truth is not to be questioned. If any Person in this Colony suspects me and had told me so, I would Convince them, but shall Really think it very hard if this Suspicion is set on Foot by Strangers who neither know me or the People, and shall think mankind worse than I hope they are to give Credit to such Reports. I may Perhaps see you one of these days when I shall say more: in the mean time believe me to be D^r S^r

Y^r very Hbl Serv^t

Jos Chew

* Mr. Ingersoll's letters are those published by him in the *Connecticut Gazette* since the last summer.

There was no Copys of y^r Letters printed in the N London Papers.

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r
N. Haven]

Dear Sir

We just now have the very agreable news from Boston that a Ship is arrived there that has Bro^t. papers to the 27th of Dec^r. in which is his Majestys Speech to Both Houses of Parliment, *Very Favourable tis said towards his American Subjects*, that Private Letters say the Stamp Act will Certainly be Repealled or Suspended—no matter which, so we do but get Clear of it. I most earnestly pray that these Favourable accounts may Prove true.

I have your Letter of the 10th. by the last Post. All I know of the unjust Suspicious which have been Propagated of my being a Friend to the Act is that I am told it has been wrote from New York to the Sons of Liberty here that I have Carryed on a pernicious and Dangerous Correspondance with you, and that great Care should be taken to keep Every thing secret from me, or you would be acquainted with it, for that I was surely a Friend to the Act or a Tool to Power. Very fine & Cleaver this, is it not?—and what I very Little Expected to be laid to my Charge. I am told M^r Ledlie* saw this Letter, & what I think hard is, as I had Let him see those I had from you, that he did not at once Contradict the Report which he knows is unjust; but it appears to me in all things of this Sort it seems Necessary to say one thing to a Persons Face and another behind his Back. God knows that no man Wishes his Countrys good more than I do—and I dare say would go as great Lengths to serve it as

* Captain Hugh Ledley, or Ledlie, of Windham, Connecticut, and later of Norwich, had previously been a legal client of Mr. Ingersoll; he was prominent in the mob which forced Ingersoll's resignation as Stamp-Distributor, and was also afterwards sent by the Sons of Liberty in Windham to interview Ingersoll respecting his correspondence with England.

many who are now making a good deal of Noyse. I dislike all Violencies and invasions of private Property &c—neither do I believe you had any hand in getting the act Passed, but think I can Venture to Assert that you opposed the same with all your might & Strength; nay more, I have said that I thought you was Cruelly used to be abused as you were, that I had not the Least objection to your being even Forced to Resign, but there I would have stopped and Left you to your Self while you had let the Paper lay in the Boxes &c it was Packt up in. I propose seeing you one day next week & beg you'll give My Little Womans & my own best Respects to good M^{rs} Ingersoll who we have often, yes very often thought of. Accept the same from

Dear Sir

N London 19th Febr^y 1766

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

Your very Obed^t Serv^t

Jos Chew

LETTER OF GEN. GOLD SELLECK SILLIMAN.

Fairfield March 1st, 1766

S^r

Since You suggested to me at New Haven your Thoughts of publishing your Letters wrote to be sent Home I have thought further of the matter, and therefore take this Oppor^{ty}. to use the Freedom to let you know that the more I think of that matter the more I am convinced that such Publication can do no Harm, either to the Publick, Yourself or the Gentⁿ. mentioned in them, but that tis more than probable that it will be of Real Service, especially if they are published with such explanatory Notes as you mentioned to me, for I well know from my own Observation, that the General Report that prevails among People makes the Contents of them dangerous to the Publick, injurious to the Gentⁿ. who are mentioned in them, and very prejudiciall to Yourself, & I suppose that the Publication of them will shew that the Contents of them have hitherto been injuriously misrepresented. I have communicated the matter to my Father, and he thinks that tis probable that such a Publication of them

can do no Hurt, but that it may perhaps do good; this I write because I find that my Father intends beyond N. Haven on Munday and therefore tis not probable that you will see him.

Permit me further to say that I think the Publick now have a Right to expect such a Publication of them in Consequence of the Encouragement you have given them in a former Publication of yours, and also in Point of equal Dealing, for it seems not right that a small Number of zealous People in the Colony should have them as long as they please and publish such Parts of them as they think proper with their own Comments on them, and that a full Publication of them should be suppressed by means of those very People or rather only one of their Number.

Now pray S^r what is the Language of this their Conduct? is it not this? that they know they have published such things of your Letters, that their own Consciences tell them your Letters will, when published, shew them to have no other real Foundation than Malevolence? if that is the Cause of their desiring a Suppression of them, I think it is & ought to be the strongest Reason for publishing them.

I cant but hope from all I can observe that your Troubles have now past their Meridian and that they are upon the Decline. I can assure you, S^r, I have been concerned for Fear that the Usage you have met with would have thrown you into a State of Melancholy, and it hurt me to the Heart in Court this Week when I heard the mean & illnated Language & Remarks with which You was used by a Certain Appurtenant of the Court; however I am glad to find you possessed of such a Degree of the Christian as well as Philosophic Fortitude as that you seem calm and unruffled. Your Friends this way of the Steady thinking Sort, which are not a few only, are more at a loss to account for your being in your Town Vote & being to all Appearance in Earnest to go on with Business,* than any thing in your Conduct before, because say they Mr. Ingersoll knows

* A Town Meeting held in New Haven on February 3, 1766, had recommended the resumption of business by the Courts, and Mr. Ingersoll seems to have joined in the Town Vote.

that such a Measure would most certainly be a Cause of the Forfeiture of the Charter, &c. I mention not this because I am not satisfied with the Reasons that you gave me, but only to let you know what some People think. I shall take all Opportunities when I hear that matter mentioned to use my Endeavours to set the matter in its proper Light you may depend upon it. As I think you told me you should not go the Circuit, I should be very glad you should improve a leisure hour to communicate to me any new Occurrence, or news of Importance from Home that may be proper to be communicated, as I expect you will now pretty Certainly soon hear from some of your Friends on the other Side the Water. I have no need to subjoin any Caution to you that it would do no good to communicate this to any one, or that if you write it must be by somebody that you know will let me have the Letter.

I am sir Your sincere Friend and Very Hum^{bl} Ser^t

G. Selleck Silliman.*

P. S. If you publish those Letters be so kind as to contrive to let me see them. I had almost forgot to tell you that on Tuesday next our Sons of Liberty are to meet to hear your Letters read I am told: pray how did they get them?

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

New Haven]

LETTER TO THE STAMP COMMISSIONERS.

N: Haven 5 March 1766

May it please Your Hon^{rs}.

Since my last I have been hon^d. with yours of 7th. of Nov^r, advising of a parcel of Stampt paper N^o. 56, shipt for this Col-

* Gold Sellick Silliman, son of Ebenezer Silliman (Yale 1727), of Fairfield, Connecticut (one of the Assistants who administered the oath to observe the Stamp Act to Governor Fitch), and father of Professor Benjamin Silliman, was born in 1732, graduated at Yale in 1752, and died in 1790.

ony on board Cap^t. Chambers, & which is arrived, & I believe Lodged in the fort at N: York.

You must have heard of a quantity intended for this Colony, how much I cannot tell, being burnt by the Populace at N: York. Every thing remains here, & in the Neighbouring Provinces, much as when I wrote you last; for particulars must beg leave to refer you to News papers & other general information.

I am

Y^r. Most Obed^t

Humb^l Serv^t

J. Ingersoll.*

P. S. I am Informed by a Letter from M^r. Theoph^t. Bache of N York that the Stamp papers belonging to this Colony that were destroyed as above were those sent by Cap^t. Haviland.† M^r. Bache desires there may be no more Consigned to him:—indeed no person I believe will receive them at New York nor does there appear any prospect that any will be wanted or made Use of here.

J. I.

To the Hon^l. Commr^s. of Stamps

Copy

LETTER OF RICHARD JACKSON.

Temple 22 March 1766

Dear Sir,

I received your Letter of Nov^r. & take the Earliest opportunity I have had since my receipt of it, to do you the Justice of declaring I never did in my life perceive any disposition in you

* From the Ingersoll manuscripts: published in *Letters relating to the Stamp Act*.

† The only Connecticut stamps destroyed were these received in the *Polly*, of the alleged value of £1909. Ten bales of parchment, of which three were designed for Connecticut, were taken out of the vessel by a mob early in January, 1766. at midnight. in New York harbor, and burnt.

to Encourage the passing the Stamp Act, & that Every thing I ever heard from you tended to dissuade the passing it, particularly at the last interview M^r. Franklin, you & I had with M^r. Grenville on the Subject, when he heard us give our reasons against the Bills being brought in for near two hours.

As for what passed between M^r. Whately & you I am a Stranger to it, having never been myself privy to any measures taken with respect to that Act, after having formally declined giving any other advice on the Subject excepting that I had always given, to lay the project aside; but I took the opportunity of asking him upon this Subject in the House the other day, when he informed me that what you have said in your Letter is in Substance true on this Subject, and if it varies at all it is in relating a Circumstance or two no way material.

I am heartily Sorry for your misfortunes, but flatter myself that when the Stamp Act shall be forgot, as I hope it will for Ever, the prejudices conceived against you will be forgot too.

I hope no disputes about Speculative rights will keep up any animosities on that Subject, for I sincerely believe that Sober moderate men in America who deny the right of Parliament, while yet they apply for a repeal of a Law passed by Parliament, must mean the same that I understand M^r. Pitt to mean & that I mean myself, for I conceive they Admit what we call the right, by saying Parliament has the power to make the Law. I conjecture that when we deny the Expediency & admit the right, in England, we admit only that imperial right, that is inseperable from a Supreme Legislature who have it as part of their Essence to make that legal that was illegal before; but which it is not to be presumed they will do in Cases that must be eternally improper, nor even in those that may by possibility become proper, unless they should become so.

I am D^r. S^r.

Y^r Most Obed^t Humbl Serv^t.

R: J.*

Copy

* This letter from Richard Jackson, Esq., of London, to Mr. Ingersoll, had already been printed in part in the *Connecticut Gazette* of June 14. before its inclusion in a foot-note in *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*.

PREFACE TO AND EXPLANATION OF LETTERS RELATING TO THE
STAMP ACT.

To the Publick.*

About the beginning of last December, three persons came to me as a Committee from the people called the respectable populace, then lately assembled at Windham, and acquainted me that those people had received information of my having then lately wrote Letters to the Commissioners of Stamps & others in England (naming to me the persons to whom I had wrote) in which Letters, they were told, I had advised to take away the Jurisdiction of Admiralty Courts & some two or three other matters from the Stamp Act, and then to inforce the same, Urging to have the same Crammed down, with assurances that the people would receive it, and the like. They let me know that those people were Extremely enraged at this intelligence and that it was with difficulty they (the Com^{tee}.) had obtained leave to come & give me an opportunity of clearing up this matter and which they intimated they thought could not well be done, without my giving out Copies of those Letters. They said they did not come to demand them of me, but that they could not answer for consequences if I should refuse to do it, as some of the people talkt in a Strain which I do not choose to repeat—and from the Story & Circumstances of the intelligence which had been received, tho far from being true, I did then think my Letters had been intercepted.

I let the Gentlemen know that the report of what I had wrote was not true: Observed to them that it was very Extraordinary for me to be Obliged to Expose my private Letters, or to take the chance of Consequences from an exasperated people at a time when their resentments bordered so nearly on open violence, and all from meer Suggestion & hearsay; however, I immediately had recourse to the Copies of those Letters & read

* This Preface to the *Letters relating to the Stamp-Act*, as well as an explanatory statement (introductory to Mr. Ingersoll's letters of November, 1765) inserted in the text of the same pamphlet, is here printed from the manuscript draft; the date (June 2, 1766) was altered to June 15 on publication.

those paragraphs to which the Story seemed to have relation, with which the Gentlemen appeared to be Satisfied.

I thereupon concluded (this was over night) to draw Copies of those paragraphs only, together with some minutes I should make & give to them; accordingly the next morning one of the Com^{tee}. came & I gave him such Copies & minutes. He said on further thought he very much feared the people would not be asswaged without full Copies of Every thing Except what might relate to private affairs, & repeated to me the temper the people were in & the Language some of them used. Much discourse was had between us upon the Subject. On the whole I read to him the whole of the Letters I had then lately sent away & askt him whether he thought the people would be more or less Exasperated by knowing what they contained. He said he believed the Letters would have a favourable Effect and advised me as a friend to suffer this Com^{tee}. to take the Copies & added that he believed if they were shewn to some of the principle people they might be kept from a publick reading as the body of the people would most likely be satisfied with what they should be able to inform them about the same. The other two Com^{tee}. also coming in heard them read & Expressed themselves much in the same manner.

Upon this I delivered out to them those & all my other letters of Correspondence about the Stamp Act from the beginning, together with a Copy of my bond of Office that so one thing might serve to Explain another.

When this Com^{tee}. returned to Windham the peoples Expectations & impatience I am told were so great that nothing short of the publick reading of my Letters would answer. This occasioned another & another such reading, until I found they had been made known not only to many thousands in this Colony, but to many persons in higher as well as lower Stations in Neighbouring Provinces, and that one Compleat Copy had been taken & certain pretended Extracts, taken upon memory or otherwise, given out, so very deficient & to my Apprehension so different from the true meaning of the original Letters themselves, that I found myself under a Necessity of promising the

Publick that as soon as I should recover the Letters I would publish the whole. This has been delayed hitherto upon the Advice of one of the persons principally concerned in obtaining these Letters of me. Indeed the peoples Spirits were in such a ferment while we continued in a State of Suspense with regard to y^e repeal of the Stamp Act that I feared a publication of them would answer no good purpose & perhaps might give Occasion for further Crimination as to me: but now as we are favoured with undoubted intelligence of its total repeal, I think I cannot fairly Excuse myself from fulfilling my promise to the Publick in this particular.

I expect very different Judgments will be passed upon these Letters by different persons according to their different prejudices, passions and inclinations, as I find has been the Case. It must however be owned by all to be a peculiarly hard Case to be under such kind of Necessity as I have before described of Exposing to the world my most Secret thoughts & those conceived (in the later Letters) in a Situation the most perplexed with complicated difficulty & the most distressed that can well be imagined. The Extraordinary & peculiar Circumstances of the times must be the only Excuse on all sides. I shall therefore hope for as much Candor as the nature & Circumstances of the Case will admit of.

The whole of these Letters are now offered to the publick view, & however little they may avail me as to my own private Character & reputation, yet as they contain, with the Notes annexed, a short history of the rise, progress & Ending of the Memorable Stamp Act, I cannot but hope they will afford some profitable Amusement to many persons in this Colony who from their Situation have not been under Advantages of knowing all that has passed with regard to it, and that they may receive some helps from them in Solving & Explaining some pieces of publick Conduct which have been so much the Objects of Attention of late.

I think in times of general Commotion the people have a right to know the general Outlines at least of that Conduct in any of their Members which may be supposed any way mate-

rially to affect them. This I mean to apply to my self more especially only while I am Endeavouring to apologize for my own Conduct; I shall have occasion to take Notice of that of some others incidentally only & as the same relates to my own.

I hope no Offence will be taken by any. I mean not this Step to furnish new matter for popular disputation & Animosity, but as a fulfilment of my Obligations & with a view to satisfy & quiet honest minds who are desirous of knowing the truth in these matters, and as the finishing Act to that Scene of trouble which the Stamp Act has Occasioned to me as well as to many others.

J: Ingersoll

N: Haven June 2: 1766

Before I proceed to the other letters I beg leave to observe a few things with regard to my office of Distributer of Stamps and the obligations of it, as there is nothing perhaps in this whole affair that has been less attended to or less understood. The Common opinion seems to have been, that I should immediately have resigned the office as soon as I saw the temper the Country was in upon my arrival from England, whereas, in my humble opinion, it was absolutely impossible in the nature of things that I should make such resignation, & would have been Extremely hazardous to my office bond to have attempted it, and that for the following reasons. It is well known that I was in England when I was appointed to this office; I accepted it by my own Act; undertook the trust, and gave bond at the Stamp office in the Sum of £3000. Sterl: for a due fulfilment of it, with two Sureties resident in London to whom I also gave my own bond of indemnification—the Condition of which office bond, among other things, is as follows:—

“Whereas the above bound Jared Ingersoll is nominated and appointed Chief Distributer of Stamp Vellum, parchment & paper within the Colony of Connecticut, in America; and as such is intrusted and Employed to furnish & supply the said Colony with Stamp Vellum, &c. and to collect & receive Sev-

eral Duties, penalties & forfeitures by virtue & in Execution of the powers & directions contained in an Act of Parliament made, &c. The Condition therefore of this obligation is such, that if the said Jared Ingersoll or his Deputies, &c. shall well & truly Collect, recover & receive all & Every Sum & Sums of money, which shall arise & become due of & for the several and respective Duties & penalties or forfeitures mentioned in the said Act of Parliament, &c.” Then reciting many other particulars of the duty of the office, says, “And also if the said Jared Ingersoll shall & do well, faithfully & truly observe, obey, perform & Execute as well all & every the matters and things which are enacted and required to be by him done & performed in & by the said Act of Parliament, as also all & every such Rules, methods, orders and Instructions as he the said Jared Ingersoll shall from time to time receive, &c; and also if he the said Jared Ingersoll shall and do well, faithfully & duly *Exercise, Execute & perform* the said office and all & every the matters and things touching or concerning the same, which he ought to do & perform by virtue thereof, according to the several trusts reposed in him by the said Act, then &c.” Now it appears most plainly from the words of my bond & indeed from the very nature of the trust, that my business was to furnish the people of this Colony with the Stamp paper in order to the raising a revenue to the Crown, and had I by my own Act defeated these ends I should most undoubtedly been Judged guilty of the most gross infidelity of office. Again, there is no such thing, I conceive, as resigning an Office in any Case but to those who Created the office or to such as are lawfully authorised and impowered to receive such resignation. Persons, I know, may say they wont Execute their offices & so break their trust & incur all the penal Consequences of such a Step, but they cannot to any effect or purpose say they resign, except to those who have power to appoint others in their room. ’Twas doubtless with me just as it would have been with a Sheriff, should he refuse to serve a writ when tendred to him & think to Excuse himself by saying he resigned his office, when perhaps the Gov^r. & Council who appointed him were a hundred miles off. The

same with a Custom house Officer, should he refuse to enter & clear vessells upon that pretence & the like. This is so plain a Case that no one ever doubted it before. I could have wrote home to England, I know, for a dismissal from my office, there resigned, & been clear of it; but must have been considered as the appointed officer & act as such in the mean time & until I was succeeded by some other, & which must necessarily have taken up many months time, & when it was done would not have answered the peoples End.

Tis true I told the Gov^r. Early after my coming home and several of the Council and indeed Declared publicly, that in case the General Assembly & body of the people should conclude not to Submit to the Stamp Act, but to go abreast the same, that in that case I should not take any Steps in my office, for in that case there would be an End of the principal part of my business (viz) that of Collecting a Revenue by the Sale of the Stamp papers; and as for the other part, that of collecting such revenue by the fines and forfeitures that would be incurrd, as there would not be any need of any Steps being taken to that End immediately, I certainly should have wrote home and insisted upon a dismissal from my office.

Perhaps it will be said, upon my own principles it was best, as I could not resign voluntarily, to force me to a promise not to introduce the Stamp papers, & by every means to prevent their being brought into the Colony, least they should get into Use among the people. As to that I have nothing to say; all I contend for is that while the people were tieing my hands in that matter, for the general good, as they supposed, that they would let me at least Endeavour to keep Em at liberty, in order to save my fidelity to the King, whose Servant in office I was, & my Interest which was so bound & fettered by my office bond. What I here said therefore I would apply to the general tenor & Spirit of the Ensuing Letters, which some have thought do not sufficiently Comport with my Weathersfield resignation, as it is called. It is very well known that in my printed account of that matter published soon after it happened, I never took the merit of a Voluntary resignation. I always knew, at least

thought, I was not at liberty to make any such Sacrifice. I knew that all the Stamp papers Consigned to my Care to the Value of thousands of pounds Sterling were Charged to my Acc^o., those that were burnt at N: York as well as the others, which Account is yet open & to be settled as I am advised by letters from the Comm^{rs}. of Stamps; that I was Expressly Ordered by printed instructions received long since to receive & to transmit a Receipt for those very papers—and by my bond to distribute them; every one of which orders and Obligations I had failed of complying with. I knew it would not do to say merely that I would not obey these orders; I must say I could not, & I must also tell how & why I could not. I did not think it would be sufficient merely to Inform that a Mob had obliged me to promise I would not, when the Assembly had issued a proclamation treating those people as rioters, & the people I was writing to might naturally think the Publick had interposed, & by punishing the Mob (as they to be sure would Consider it) had freed me from my restraints, & that the body of the people stood ready to receive the Stamp papers. I must therefore acquaint them that the Publick themselves, by the time I wrote, did not seem inclined to do any thing toward freeing me from those restraints; in short I found it necessary, I thought, to acquaint the people I was writing to, generally, with the publick as well as particular transactions which related to the Stamp Act, as they all tended to the principal point of Excusing me for my Neglects of Office, in doing which however I told of nothing but what was as publick as Newspapers could make it, & yet would be Expected officially from me; nor do I mention a Circumstance which might give Umbrage without giving at the same time the reason of the Step. If some of the Council refuse to swear y^e Gov^r., tis not left to be guessed to proceed from Caprice or humour, but is alledged to be from principles of Conscience;—and if it is said no Steps had been taken to punish those people who obtain^d my afores^d resignation, it is added, that it would be dangerous to attempt it; & the like.

Again, some have blamed me for Seeming to keep Sight of my office, after the Weathersfield affair. To this I beg leave to

say in the first place I was really afraid least it should be thought, on tother side the water, that I was secretly Consenting to be forced out of it, & so betraying my trust, and further, as I told the people at Weathersfield, altho I could very freely part wth the office, if by that means we should get rid of the Stamp Act itself, yet if that Step should serve no other purpose than only to Oust me of the office in order to be filled by another, I should not very well like it. I therefore in these Letters stated the whole of my Situation and left it with my Employers & my friends, to whom I wrote, to do and to advise what they should think ought to be done & what in honour I might do, taking this one thing all along into the Account, that I could not be willing to Exercise the office, unless the people should generally Conclude to Submit to the Stamp Act, and certainly *Volenti non fit injuria*.

But I will no longer detain the Reader from the Letters themselves, only desire if any shall be disposed to find fault, that they will place themselves as in my Situation, in the first place conscious of having faithfully, to the Utmost of my power, opposed the passing the Stamp Act; then loaded with infinite reproach for having taken an office under it, and which I took thinking it might be even agreeable to the people under all the Circumstances to have me take it; then to have my bond & interests involved, intangled & Exposed, by at least a very unusual & Extraordinary Step; and then ask themselves fairly, whether they think they should have done much better than I did.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR MOORE, OF NEW YORK.

N: Haven 14 July 1766

Sir

I have received orders from the Com^{rs}. of Stamps, to Ship to them all the Stampt Parchment & paper which has been Consigned to me—they also intimate that it is Expected Orders will come from the Lords Comm^s. of the Admiralty, for the Ships of

war returning home to take on board and Carry the Same to England, and Accordingly direct me to Apply to the Commanders of Such Ships to receive all Such as I have in my Custody or power.

As I have been Obliged, during the late troubles, to Desire Your Excellency, And before your Arrival, Leu^t. Gov^r Colden to receive into the fort at N. York & there keep until further Orders, whatever Stamps Should come consigned to me that way, and as I live remote from where any Ships of war are Stationed, I have to Ask the favour of Your Excellency to Order to be put on board any Such returning Ship, all and any Boxes or parcels of Stampt parchment or papers which You shall have in your Custody or power which Shall appear to be directed and Consigned to me that So the Same may be Carried back to the Stamp Office in London agreeable to the before mentioned Orders from that Board—A particular Acc^o, of which boxes with their numbers You will be So good as to take and favour me with.

The Common Necessity & peculiarity of the times will I hope, plead my Excuse for giving your Excellency this further trouble

I am

Y^r Excellencys Most Obed^t.
& Most Humb^e Serv^t.
Jared Ingersoll

S^r H. Moore.*

LETTERS OF REV. NEHEMIAH STRONG.

Sir

Complements paid &c. Am Enformed that my Antagonist Mr B——r has fled his Countrey—that what Estate he has left is on a Slippery Bottom. This therefore waits on you with my Desire you would by no means fail to take y^e most Effectual Method for my Security, by Attaching (if need be) his Hous-

* This letter, addressed to the Governor of the Province of New York, is copied from a copy in the Library of Congress,—the original being in the British Museum.

hold furniture, or some other Part of his Estate, if it can be done, and you think it adviseable.

His Wife I am indeed Sensible can be no otherwise than in a forlorn State of wretchedness; and would be more So Should I deprive her of her things; I have indeed no desire to add to her wretchedness for the Sake of Increasing her misery. Her misery is her own, not mine; must thank her Self not me for y^e whole, but know she must, that her own degenerate & perfidious Conduct to me which has renderd her the Scandal of her Sex, and Shamefully dishonourd me, can now lay no Claim to my Compassion to her Misery, or Influence me to use any forbearance towards her; So but that I can & Shall from a Sense of my own honour and Interest Spare no pains so that I can but recover from her that part of my Estate which by her Treasonable Conduct She has deprived me of and Injuriouly Detains from me, Let the Consequence to her be what it will.

Must Therefore, Sir, in a word beg leave to desire you to proceed on with y^e Same Attention and Vigour, which you would do was Mr B——r present & under affluent Circumstances.

I am,

Sir,

with much respect your
very humble Ser^t.

N. Strong.*

Turkey Hills in Simsbury

Octo^r. 1: 1765

To Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

* Nehemiah Strong (born 1729, died 1807) was graduated at Yale in 1755, and after studying divinity in New Haven became a tutor in the College. In November, 1760, just as he left the tutorship, he married here Lydia Smith, whose husband, Andrew Burr, Jr., from whom she had obtained a divorce for desertion in 1759, afterwards reappeared, and secured an annulment of the divorce in May, 1761.

Meantime Mr. Strong had been settled as pastor of the congregation in Turkey Hills (now East Granby), Simsbury, Connecticut. The debts and lawsuits in which he became involved in consequence of his domestic troubles, brought about the termination of his ministerial career. Subsequently, from 1770 to 1781, he filled the Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Yale College.

Sir

After propper Salutations, I present you with my Desire that you would not fail to do the best you can for me at y^e Superior Court in February next, if any there shall be, in the Affair of Mr Burr: I shall not be present my self, to agitate any thing in the affair, must Leave it with your Self to Carry thro the whole with as much Vigour as if I was upon the Spot to Stimulate &c. Be so good Sir, as to Take all the Advantage that is Reasonable of his absense. Perhaps Mr Johnson may be Engagd on my Side; act in that as your wisdom shall direct. If I should recover, you will be so good as to Issue out Execution forthwith; you know what I have Sufferd by Delays heretofore. Let not any Calamity or poverty of the woman prevent the full force of the Execution. If I should not Recover I shall without Doubt Carry the Affair to the Assembly in May. I am, Sir,

With much Respect

Your very humble Servant

Nehemiah Strong

P. S. be so good as not to let the Tryal be put off if you can prosecute it.

Turkey Hills in Simsbury,

Jan 18th. 1766.

To Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

IV. NEW HAVEN, 1766-1769

In compensation for his treatment as Stamp-Master, Mr. Ingersoll received in 1769 a commission as Judge of the new Vice-Admiralty Court for New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, with headquarters in Philadelphia, on an annual salary of £600.

A few documents are given herewith in illustration of his life during the period from the episode of the Stamp Act to his assumption of judicial duties in Philadelphia.

LETTER TO RICHARD JACKSON.

N Haven 18 Aug^t. 1766

D^r S^r.

this waits on you Solely on the Subject of the Indian benefaction which you was so good as to mention to me when last with you. Enquiry has been made into the State of the Indians near Kent in this Colony. They appear to be under the Care of a Moravian Teacher, & from some Connections formed between them and that Interest, I find whatever monies shall be supplied to their benefit must be under the direction of the Moravian Benefactors*: so that our Clergy do not seem to be inclined at present to solicit your bounty [?] for them. As to those of the Monhegan Tribe near Norwich I have not as yet been able to learn any thing particular about them. The State of this Country of late you will easily conceive has very much retarded Enquiries of this kind, & indeed Every kind of business.

the Rev^d. M^r. Eleaz^r. Wheelock, Minister of a Parish in Lebanon in this Colony, has been for some time Engaged in a plan of Gospelizing the Indian Natives upon our Western frontier &

* See a valuable account of the *Moravians in the Housatonic Valley*, by the Rev. William G. Andrews, in the *American Church Review*, vol. 32, pp. 194-211, 264-87.

Elsewhere. This he does by getting the Youth of those Tribes to come & be educated at a School he has set up for that End at Lebanon afores^d & when properly Instructed and qualified he sends them out among those people as Preachers & some I believe as Schoolmasters. Some English Instructors are also sent among them. In this way tis generally thought this Gentleman has had real Success. He is well known & among all denominations among us is reputed to be a person of unspotted Character, truly Zealous & most heartily Engaged in this Cause. and has so recommended the same that it has been & now is patronized by a Society in Scotland, I think—the name of which I have forgot,—& is also favourably thought of & helpt in some little degree, according to their ability, by the people of this Colony. This being the Case, M^r Wheelock, as well as other Gentlemen, think it would be happy & most for that Interest which the institution of your Society was intended to Answer, for the benefaction which you mentioned to me to be Extended to this School. M^r Whitaker, a Clergyman belonging to Norwich in this Colony & Connected with this School, is now in England with an Indian Preacher Educated by M^r. Wheelock, to whom & to M^r. Wheelock, both of whose Veracity you may Rely upon, I must Refer you for many particulars which I am not fully acquainted with, both with relation to the plan of this Institution & the Execution of it, & will only add that as things appear to me, the Extending the Charity to this School will most likely answer great & very Valuable purposes, & as great & as valuable ones as any that may be Expected from an Application of it to any other School or plan of Instruction of the kind, in these parts.

I am S^r

Y^r most Ob^t &c

J. I.

To R. Jackson Esq^r.

Copy

LETTER OF RICHARD JACKSON.

15 Nov^r 1766

Dear Sir

I cannot avoid troubling you with a Letter though I have heard but once from you since your Arrival in Connecticut, & though I have long since answered that Letter. Possibly that Answer might not reach you; if it did I hope you have not been prevented by Illness from writing, for I am sensible, & shall always bear Testimony that whatever Connection you have unwillingly had with y^e Stamp Act, you have done real services to your Country while you were here.

It is partly in hopes of hearing of my farm in Kent, that I now write to you. I have heard nothing of M^r Elliot, of my Crop of Wheat, or of y^e Inclosure or further Improvements on the farm, since I remitted the sum of 100[£] thither.

The Ministry is now such that America can never hope for a better; should there be a Change it must be for the worse.

Many important Projects are on the Anvil, some regard America. I hope the Number of Troops will be reduced. I have always thought that Number unnecessarily large; possibly there may be an Application to y^e Colonies for somewhat to maintain y^e Rest of them after y^e present American Revenue has been first applied.

I am Sir

Y^r most Obed^t hble Serv^t

R Jackson

LETTERS OF JAMES PARKER.

New York, Feb 19, 1767

Sir,

Your Favour of the 14th. I received last night, as also one from M^r Nathan Beers of New Haven, offering to take the Office,* and pleading that the Posts put up there always, and it

* The postmastership of New Haven, which had been held since 1765 by Benjamin Meem, a nephew of Dr. Franklin and publisher of *The Connecticut Gazette*. Luke Babcock (Yale 1755) received the appointment about March 1, 1767.

would be most convenient for them:—I confess I have no Objection to Mr Green, yet I am a little afraid that Dr Franklin won't like him: from a Prepossession against Mr Green's Uncle, Jonas Green of Annapolis, who had the Post Office many Years, and never would duly account for it: so that the Dr was obliged to displace him: Altho' I can't see why he should be thought unfit because his Uncle did not behave well in it. I seem to like Mr Green very well, and yet I fear my Constituents will not. However, as you may know more of Mr Beers, I will delay till I hear from you again, and will determine upon which you shall think most proper; for as there is a Bond to be given for due Performance, I fancy Beers the most substantial.—Yet I could rather Green, if my own Sentiment were to preponderate, but I would please my Masters rather. Indeed let who will have it, it can only be a Verbal Appointment yet because Mr Foxcroft* is gone to Virginia, and I must write to him for a Commission,—tho' he will send it to whom I request.

If it would not be too much Trouble to you, I would ask this Favour of you:—I claim a small Lot of Ground there near the College, which Dr Franklin bought of Mr Mix and which I bought of Dr Franklin.† There is no Building on it, as I know of: but I am told, one Munson occupies it, without either Leave, Liberty, or paying me any Thing for: which is a Practice I don't understand: and Mecom is such a Stupid Wretch, that I can get no Account of it from him. Now, The Favour is to beg you to enquire about it, and to let it out for me, if others must use it, for Some Rent: It cost me I think 90 Dollars in Cash.

Holt‡ never will account with any if he can help it,—unless they are in his Debt; but if 'tis needful I have got his Original

* John Foxcroft had succeeded William Hunter as Franklin's associate in the Postmaster-general's office.

† On the present College square, facing College street, just north of Phelps Gate.

‡ John Holt (born in Virginia in 1726, died in New York in 1784) married a sister of Colonel William Hunter (see above, p. 305). From 1755 he was associated with the writer as publisher and editor of the *Connecticut Gazette*, being also at the same time postmaster of New Haven, until in 1760 he removed to New York.

Post-Office Books, but they are a good deal defaced with marks. Those were during his Time; and Green's Accounts were delivered in by himself Sworn to, and Holt received the Money, as M^r Green says, so that I see no Reason for such Delays. M^r Foxcroft and D^r Franklin of their own Accord allowed him all the Letters he ought to be allowed for, and how the Auditors can allow him more, is what I can't see: but I have no Business to judge in the Matter:—only I suffer all this while: tho' I have had Writs out for Holt these Six Months, yet I can't take him.—I think he has wronged me much: But Injuries is what I have been so used to, that I must be patient. Doubtless others have their Share at Times also. With all Respects remain

Your most obedient Serv^t

James Parker

To Jared Ingersol, Esq^r

New York, March 16, 1767.

Sir,

Your kind Interposition and Enquiry about the Lot of Ground, demands my best Thanks:—I am quite willing you should nominate two indifferent Persons to Value what he ought to pay me for the Time he has had it, and for the Year to come:—I never could get any Thing out of Mecom about it: but that one Munson had it, but no Offers or Proposals of any Kind.—I suppose, according to Law I could not sell it, tho' I paid 90 Dollars for it about 10 Years ago:—The Case being thus, M^r Franklin bought it of M^r Mix, and tis recorded in his Name: but when he sold it to me, not having Opportunity to make a Conveyance suitable to your Country, I have only his Acknowledgement in his own Writing, on the back of his Original Deed, that he had received the full Sum, and promised to make me a Conveyance as soon as an Opportunity offered:—But that Time is not yet come; altho' the Right is really mine.—I hope he will return this Spring, and such Opportunity may be had:—If it shall be found that indifferent Persons, shall think it worth any Thing worth While, he may probably continue in

the Occupation of it: but if not, I must try to see if others won't give more.—You'll please to settle it as soon as you can conveniently: and if I can satisfy you for y^e Trouble I shall be pleased—I am glad the Appointment of M^r Babcock is agreeable to you, because I know it will be agreeable to D^r Franklin:—With respectful Compliments remain

Your most obliged Ser^t

James Parker^{*}

[For
Jared Ingersoll. Esq^r
at
New Haven
Free J Parker]

New York April 6, 1767

Sir,

If any Thing can be done in the following Case, whatever shall be the usual Cost shall gladly see it paid.

You know a little, that M^r Holt carried on printing in the Name of me & Comp. both at New-Haven & New-York: which naturally implied I had some Concern in it: but notwithstanding my often repeated Demands, I never could get any Settlement or Account of him; nor of M^r Green, tho' I am told Green has accounted with Holt, whilst I had as much Right to it as Holt: I apprehend from that Partnership I have much due, exclusive of my attaching the Tools on Col. Hunter's Account:—Also exclusive of that, I have Holt's Bond, for 320£ York Money now five Years on Interest:—Besides this Bond I apprehend a Considerable Sum is due to me: but what I cannot say for want of a Settlement—Holt having had many Goods of me, and I some Payment of him; but nothing on that Bond:—I have tried every possible Means I knew of to get him to a Settlement, but he eludes it continually.—I have had two Writs out for him.—one on that Bond, and one on an Assumpsit

* This letter and the two following letters are from the manuscripts in Yale University Library.

Account, now above 6 Months,—twice returned *Non est*, and y^e third likely to be so, he having secreted himself and kept close:—I yesterday heard he was gone privately to New Haven, I suppose to have the Post-Office Affair finished, at least I hope it will be: Now the Intent of this is, to beg of you to know, if he could be arrested there or not by me, and if he could be, would you do it before he returns: whatever Power is necessary for me to give in the Case, I hereby give, and will give any other Form that shall be lawful and will prosecute the Bond there:—possibly he may find Bail there, and if he does, I may have a Chance of my Money, or if he goes to Jail, he may then find Time to settle the Account, which is the chief Thing I want: for if he will settle Accounts, and give me Security for the Balance, even if his own Bond & Judgment, then I will drop the Actions, and pay all the Charges, at least all such as I ought to pay:—I suppose he will return here as soon as possible, so should be glad he could be arrested while there:—if he escapes from there, I must still try to take him here,—or if he can't be arrested there:—but if he is arrested there, I can drop the Actions here on losing the Costs, which I would gladly do, to get a Settlement of him:—I want Nothing but strict Justice of him: tho' my Conduct to him, might have intitled me to that and some gratitude with an honest Heart, but however smooth or placid his Behaviour is outwardly, he certainly acts like a deceitful Knave and Villain to me:—However every Man ought to have Justice, and I desire no more. You will doubtless know if he be there, and whether any Thing can be done for me, for which all legal Demands shall be satisfied by S^r

Your very Humble Ser^t

James Parker.

[For

Jared Ingersoll, Esq^r

at

New-Haven

Free J Parker]

New York, June 24, 1767.

Sir,

Yours of the 20th per Post I duly received: I am quite obliged to you for your Kindness in relation to that Lot of Land:—It not only cost me 90 Dollars, but I paid Interest for that Sum for it to M^r Franklin about seven Years, as well as for One Half the Printing Materials and all the Books and Stationary I had there: and which the Dishonesty of Holt has deprived me of any Return:—The Lot is paid for: and tho' I am not fond of keeping it, I think it never shall go from me if I can help it, under the first Cost:—I trust as I have weather'd sundry Difficulties, I shall this also:

M^r Foxcroft writes me, he expects I must go up to New Haven, to be an Evidence in Holt's Affair: for which Reason he says he has or will write to you: to know when it will be a proper Time, and that the Auditors can meet.—I am properly interested in Holt's Behalf; because one Half of what is allowed to him, is my Right:—Yet it seems M^r Foxcroft will have my Evidence and I must go when you think it proper.—then I will shew you all the Title I have to that Lot; Mean while I am respectfully

Your obliged Serv^t

James Parker

[For
Jared Ingersoll, Esq^r
@
New Haven
Free J Parker]

LETTER OF RICHARD JACKSON.

20 feb^r 1767

Dear Sir

I received both your Letters from M^r Johnson* who seems, from the little I have seen of him, a very sensible & a very wor-

* Wm. Sam^l. Johnson (Yale 1744) was at this date in London on Colony business.

thy Man: to morrow, we shall dine at the Speakers,* who you know to be a sincere friend of the Colonies. I shall serve the College as much as I am able, & M^r Johnson^s Address may when he comes to be known procure them something, but I dare promise for nothing. Somewhat for y^e Benefit of the College I intend hereafter, but even that depends on Casualties. I heartily wish you may meet with a proper Token of Regard from Gov^t here. I will do what I can to promote it, but am I confess uncertain as yet on that point. I have the honour of being known, & that too on Terms of Friendship to almost all the Administration, but cannot yet discover, either how long their Power is to continue nor what plan will be adopted in America that will open you a Door. I have indeed already proposed somewhat beneficial for Gov^r Fitch,† & if he sh^d not accept, for you, if it sh^d take place; but I am not at liberty to disclose what this is, nor can I tell when it will take place, nor whether it will take place at all, nor even whether there will be room either for M^r Fitch or yourself; all that I can say now is that it will not be, I believe, disagreeable to any body in America.

Should M^r Grenville again come into Administration, which many People think he will soon, I shall ask him for no favour either for myself or any other Person, but you will have an Interest with him through Whately, who I believe sincerely wishes to serve you, & their Plans may better admit it, than those of my friends. . . .

I am Dear Sir

Y^r most Obed^t h^{ble} Serv^t

R Jackson

* The Speaker of the House of Commons was Sir John Cust (born 1718, died 1770), whose residence then was in Downing Street, adjoining St. James Park.

† Thomas Fitch (Yale 1721), born 1700, died 1774, had forfeited a re-election (in May, 1766) to the Governorship of Connecticut, by taking the oath to carry out the Stamp Act, and the rest of his life was spent in retirement. At the same election Ebenezer Silliman, John Chester, Benjamin Hall, and Jabez Hamlin lost their places in the House of Assistants, for having administered to Governor Fitch the unpopular oath.

LETTER OF TITUS HOSMER.

Hartford April 14th. 1767

Sir

Mr. Isham presented me this morning with your favour of the 26th. Instant . . . Your New Haven plain facts* was handed about yesterday, but did not prevent our freemen from giving Governour F——h Three Hundred Votes, & the four Enemies of Liberty something more than that number. At Weathersfield a large Majority in favour of the Jurors, & at least an Equilibrium at Hartford & Colechester; if the western parts do as well as the Towns on the River, we may see as great a Revolution next May as we did last.

I am Sir

with sincere respect

Your obed^t. humb^e. Servant

Titus Hosmer.†

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

at

New Haven.]

LETTER OF REV. NEHEMIAH STRONG.

Turkey hills in Simsbury

May 5 1767

Sir

I have Recev^d no Information concerning the Situation of my Affairs at Newhaven since the Receipt of a Letter from your Self Dated Last Octo^r.

If there is a good prospect that upon the whole I can recover against Burr and if he has any Estate so that I can get my Due or any Valuable part of it, I must Desire you to proceed on and

* The reference in "New Haven plain facts" is to an article in the *Connecticut Gazette* for February 14.

† Titus Hosmer, born 1737, died 1780, was graduated at Yale College in 1757. and became a lawyer in Middletown, Connecticut.

do the best you can for me; otherwise I desire the affair may drop unless he should stir in it himself.

how the matter stands you can tell, Sir, better than I: I desire you would be so good as to manage & conduct the whole affair as prudently as may be, and so as to save me from being Exposed to Charge and costs as much as may be by Burr. Tis a perplexd affair which I wish was finished and settled, and must depend wholly upon you to do it, for I dont choose to have any further personal concern with it, any further than to pay Such charges as will arise from the management of y^e affair, and receive what money I can get.

Be so good Sir as to write to me by the first opportunity

who am Sir

your very humble Servant

Nehemiah Strong

P S I have here sent you Inclosed a bill which with the Interest amounts as near as I can make to the Cost you mentiond in your Letter; Should have sent it before, if I could have had a Safe opportunity. Be so good as to give me Credit.
[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

New Haven]

LETTERS OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

London May 16th. 1767.*

Dear S^r

Having given the Gov^r. a pretty full Account which you will no doubt see of all that has hitherto pass'd in Parl^t. since they entered last Wednesd^y upon Amerⁿ. affairs, & the ship being to sail tomorrow morning, I have only time to be particular in

* This, as well as the next succeeding letter, is taken from a draft in the Letter Book of the author. Dr. William Samuel Johnson, in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society.

what relates to yourself, as you was I assure you this Morn^g about one o'clock in Person the object of Parliam^y. Consideration & recommended with others y^r Broth^r suffer's to the Notice & fav^r. of the Crown, M^r. G having Indefatigably labour'd in the course of a very long & warm debate to bring the House to 2 resolutions, one (as the foundation for the other) That the Colo^s. still persisted in denyng & oppugning the sovereignty of this Country & the Parliam^y. Right of Legisln. & Taxation in Am^a., And the other what he call'd a necessary Political Test, That all Pers^s. at entering into office & every Memb^r. of Council or Ass^y. in the Colo^s. before he sho'd be allow'd to set & Act sho'd be obliged to subscribe a declaratⁿ. in the words of the late declarative Act of Parl^t, acknowledging the Sovereignty of Parl^t. & their right to Tax Amer^a &c; and having lost both his Motion's by a very large Maj^y., He then said since I now Esteem the declarative Act in effect repeal'd, & see you will not come into any effectual resolutions to support y^r own sover^y. & Authority, I hope you will at least do something for those who have endeavour'd to supp^t. it in Am^a. & suffer'd by their loyalty & Obed^e. to y^r Act's; he then ment^d y^r Case, & that of sev^{ll}. others, & thereupon moved that an hum^e. Address sho'd be present^d. to his Maj^y. that he would be pleas'd to bestow some Marks of his fav^r. upon those Gov^{ts}. & officers who had suffer'd in Conseq^e. of their Obed^e. to the Acts of this Legislature; he was seconded by L^d. North who had been before applied to, & it passed Nem^e Cont^e. Y^r. Name will certainly be in the list which gos up with the Address, & you have only to point out what you would have. I trust you have already said something to M^r W or me in Cons^e. of what both he & I wrote you upon this subject soon after I arrived here; if you have not, let us hear from you as soon as possible. I can only tell you in a word what is done & what is propos^d., not whether they sho'd do anything, but whether this or something like it, more lenient or more severe. The Matters proposed & which are yet to be legislated are: The H^o. have Resolv^d. to suspend the Leg^e. Pow^r. of N Y till they submit to the Mutiny Act. Tax's are prop^d. upon Wind^o. Glass &c. Upon Wine &c with Lib^y &c. A board of

Com^s of Customs to be Estab^d., And the Gov^{rs}. & Judg^s. to have 2000: the first & the latter 500: 0 paid out of the Amⁿ. Reven^e. Gov^r. F. has been named for one of the Com^{rs}. of Customs, but the doubt is wheth^r. he would rem^e. I wish I knew his sentim^{ts}. upon this subj^t., tho & shou^d venture to write him but that I fear it will be imposs^e. to receive his Ans^r. soon enough to do him any serv^e. in that reg^d.; the sall^y. will be 500: 0 p^r. Ann. A duty upon salt was intend^d. but is given up; that upon Tea is postpon^d till the dispute with the E. India Co shall be settled. that is within the last 6 weeks become all in all in the H^o. & if he do's not make some blund^r. stands a very good Chance to have the lead in all public affairs. L^d. Ch^m.^{*} is Noth^g; it is beliv^d. his Under^g. is gone. A change of Min^y. is expect^d. but who will turn up is uncertain. I came from the H^o. this Morn^g., after one & it is now 12 at Night, so that I must have done. The Amⁿ. Ag^{ts}. were expressly ord^d. not to be adm^d. into the Gallery, but I found means notwithstanding to slip in at the last debate. M^r G. in the midst of one of his speeches stop^d. short & look^g. up to the Gall^y said, I hope there are no Amⁿ. Agents here, I must hold such Lang^e. as I w^d. not have them hear, &c I expected to be taken into Custody being there in direct breach of the order of the H^o; but the Speaker told him he had expressly orded the Sarg^t to admit none, & he might be ass^d. there were none present; nobody hapen^d to discov^r. me & I escaped. I long to hear from you & am with Comp^{ts}. to y^r Household, all the Brotherhood & all Friends most affectionately

Y^r Friend & hum^e Serv^t

P. S. May 18th. As the Ship did not sail so soon as was expected I have the pleasure to enclose you a letter from M^r. Whately which I dare say has superseded my adding any thing. I know not whether he has mention^d to you that the Cheif Justiceship of N Y is talked of for you if it can be genteel^y disengaged from another person (I imagine M^r Gardiner) who had long since applied for it & had some encouragement. I ment^d.

* Chatham.

to him the objectⁿ. you had made to me with respect to that situation, but neither he nor I think it of suff^t. weight, to prevent obtaining it if possible. One thing he desired me to mention which he had forgot, viz. that he would be much obliged to you to send him next Autumn a Cask or two of good Newtown Pippins for his own Table.

To Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

London May 16th. & 18th.: 1767.

London June 9th. 1767.

Dr. S^r.

I am now fav^d. with y^{rs}. of the 27th. of April. Three Days ago I receiv'd y^r. of the 31st. of Jan^{ry}., for both which I thank you. By my last you will see the turn things have taken here, & especially that part which immediately Concern's Y^r. self. Nothing farther than I then acquainted you with has occur'd The Min^y. have given up the Idea of Taxing Wine, fruit & Oil & opening the Trade to Portugal as being at this Juncture too great an Infring^t. of the Act of Navigⁿ & a dangerous Relaxation of the sovereignty of this Country, but they say if we behave well we shall have this Indulgence by & by. The business of Pap^r. M^o. too seems at present to be laid aside for this session, & Parliam^t. are proceeding in the other matters which I have mention'd to you. M^r. S. (who is appointed one of the C) will now be Convinced that something is to be done with the disobed^t. Colo^s. The Min^y. say this Meas^e. adopt^d. with respect to N. Y. is the most lenient they could devise, & if this do's not bring them to submit, they may expect more severe treatment. He Judg^d. rightly that party Rage is here very predominant, but however they may be divided in other matters & hate one another heartily, it seems they are at present enough agreed in having an Ill Opinion of the Colon^s. & in a Resolution to assert the supremacy of this Country. All Attentⁿ. is now turn'd towards N Y & everybody will be anxious to know the part she will take upon this occasion. Georgia has not only refused the Troops, but the post office Act, which is highly resented, but I

do not yet find what steps are likely to be taken with respect to that Prov^e. I am glad the Soldiers you have behave so well; it is still confidently said that the Troops gone out to A. are not to encrease the Establish^t. there, but only to relieve a like Number, pursuant to the plan long since adopted. The general Liberty you have given M^r W & myself we shall make as good a use of as may be in our Power. I was to the last degree cautious that nothing relative to this matter sho'd perspire till M^r G. mention'd it publickly in the H^e., after which it could no longer remain a secret that something was to be done, but what, in part^r. is not even yet mentioned. I own I have had fears that the mention of it by M^r G. & the Princ^e he urg^d. it upon would be in danger of exposing you to fresh Odium, But it could not be avoided, he will do everything in his own way, and I am willing to hope the best. It seems you have had more violent struggles about Election than the Import^e. of the Object seems to Merit. But to me observ^g. the violence of Faction & Party here, what has happen'd with you scarcely seems an object, & is like the light ruffle of the Fish Pond compared with the rough raging Wave of the Tempestuous Ocean. Tho' the Election here is yet 12 M^{os} distant, they are already in the depth of Intregue about it, & every Party are striving to secure & support themselves, & to ruin & blacken their Opponents. As to Dear Conn^t, tho' Party strife is in all Countries & at all times Mischeiv^s., yet it will be peculiarly so to her at this Juncture, when she is watch'd with a Jealous Eye, & tho' pretty well in favour, I trust, if she go's much astray, may depend upon receiving a Box in the Ear. Temple's observⁿ. with respect to this Country which you mention was I doubt not very just; it requires a close & repeated observatⁿ. to form a Just Estimate of its System; tho' in the gen^l. as I told you it do's not Ans^r. my Expect^s., yet I own I find very many things to Commend & even admire, as well as many to Censure & not a few to detest. I shall not forget y^r. Charge as to Westm^r. Hall. I have always attended there whenever it was possible & shall omit no Opport^y. to observe the course of Business in that yet uncorrupted & well Executed Department. L^d Ns Infir-

mity or Inattention to Busi^s or both hitherto prevent my foreseeing when I shall be able to return; I already wish for it & as soon as it is possible shall loose no time in embracing my Amⁿ. Friends. I lament the death of Bror. Seym^r* whose too close attention to business has no doubt shorten'd his Days. M^r Clap† (whose death I was inform'd of by the Papers before y^r. fav^r.) has been an extreme good steward of his £500 · 0 · 0 & I know not how it was possible for him in his situation to amass such a fortune as you mention. Y^r Son is I trust by this time perfectly recover'd of the small Pox of which I give him & M^{rs}. Ing^{ll}. & you Joy & am with Compl^{ts}. to all friends

D^r. S^r. Y^r. most aff^e

hum^l Serv^t.

P. S. I tho't it not worth while to tell you, who are an old Sailor, of my tempestuous Passage, which was in truth bad enough. But I really forgot to acquaint you as I intended that I took Dyers lodgings at M^{rs}. Wilsons in Lancast^r. Court & find them very agreeable. M^r. Jackson, who appears to be both your & my hearty friend, has had no time yet to make Trial of me on horseback, but we Promise ourselves that pleas^e. as soon as Parl^t. rises.

To Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

London June 9.th. 1767.

LETTER OF REV. DR. RICHARD SALTER.

Mansfield Augst 4th 1767

S^r

I expect to have a Case depending at y^e next Term of y^e Superiour Court in y^e County of Windham by an appeal from y^e Judgment of y^e Court of Probate. The facts are as follows.

* Thomas Seymour (Yale 1724), a prominent member of the Connecticut bar, died in Hartford on March 18. 1767.

† Thomas Clap, the former President of Yale College, died in New Haven on January 7. 1767.

The Rev^d. Eleazer Williams of Mansfield died Siezed of an Estate in fee Simple. Left 3 Daughters, & one Grand Daughter. To his Grand Daughter he Left a Small Legacy; to y^e 3 Daughters y^e whole of his Estate besides, both Real & Personal. y^e Estate was settled according to y^e will to Sarah & Mary; Hannah Dying without Issue. Sarah Dies & leaves issue 2 Daughters, Hannah & Ann, by y^e Rev^d. M^r Hobart Estabrook. Ann Dies, & Hannah has Divided to her y^e whole of y^e Estate y^t was her Mothers, & w^{ch} descended from her Grand father. Hannah Dies a Minor, her father still Living with children by a 2^d. wife, & her Aunt Mary also Living; since, both father & Aunt are Dead. The Question is whether y^e Estate derived from her Aneestor. descends by Law to her father, as next of Kin by Propinquity, or to her Aunt as Next of Kin Hereditible. I am in favour of & stand to Defend y^e Claim of y^e Aunt as Sole Heir at Law. There is a claim set up on y^e behalf of y^e heirs of y^e Niece before mentioned, Grand Daughter to y^e Rev^d. M^r Williams from whom y^e Estate Descended. This I mean also to oppose. I should be Glad you would Think on y^e Case before hand, & shall Depend on your Help in Conjunction with M^r Huntington at y^e Superiour Court at Windham as before, if y^e Case should Then be Depending there, & hope to make you Recompense to Satisfaction. These are the Needfull
from

S^r.

Y^r humble Serv^t

Richard Salter*

P: S: The Widow of the Rev^d. M^r Estabrook deceas'd stands in Defence of his Claim to s^d. Estate in opposition to me, & on behalf of his Children by her.

To Jared Ingersol Esq^r.

*The Rev. Dr. Richard Salter (born 1723, died 1789) was graduated at Harvard College in 1739, and in June, 1744, succeeded the Rev. Eleazer Williams as pastor in Mansfield, Connecticut. He married Mary, daughter of his predecessor, in the following September, and she died in September, 1766.

LETTER OF BERNARD LINTOT.

New Haven y^e 11th August 1767

Sir

I have at length agreed with M^r. Arnold* to take y^e Rum at 2^s/3^d lawful per Gallon: also a parcel of Dry Goods at £50 lawful. The Freight Money is also to be paid to me, which I think will reduce the Sum due to about £160 lawful money, of which I can not be certain as I have not yet a perticular account of any thing except the Dry Goods. A difficulty seems to arise between M^r. Arnold & me respecting the exchange, which M^r Arnold calculates at the nominal exchange in this Colony: but as Bills rise & fall & are generally higher than the rate he calculates at, I think it but just that it should be calculated at the price I actually can buy Bills at; otherways I am not paid the proposed Sum: and this I also take to be the custom of Merchants. I suppose £180 York Curr^y. for £100 Sterl^g to be the present price of Bills. I shall desire M^r. Isaacs to lay before you the amount of the Rum & Freight Money when receivd—being oblidg'd to leave an order with him to receive it from Cap^t. Goodwin. I must depend upon you Sir to see that the remaining Sum is fully secured as you can well imagin how much I should be blaimed to suffer the property to go out of my hands without adequate security. If these matters can not finally be settled until my return to N Haven (which I expect will be in four Weeks), leave the whole to your direction which will always be approved by me; and ashamed of being so troublesome remain S^r

Y^r most Obed^t Ser^tBer^d. Lintot†

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r]

* The notorious Benedict Arnold (born 1741. died 1801), a druggist and shipping merchant in New Haven from 1762 to 1775.

In May, 1767, the writer as attorney for certain London merchants had secured from Arnold, in part payment of a debt, a sloop engaged in the West India trade and its cargo. Mr. Ingersoll had been the medium through whom this transaction was arranged, and the present letter relates to its further settlement.

† Bernard Lintot, a merchant who removed from the neighboring town of Derby to New Haven about this date. He removed in 1769 to Bran-

LETTER OF AUGUSTUS JOHNSTON.

Little Rest* August 13th. 1767.

Dear Sir

I have but just time by M^r. Mumford of New London, who is attending the Court here, to Inform you that the Rage of the People in this Colony, agst me, on acc^t of my late Appointment, Still continues, & I believe never will end, which has determined me to go for England, which I shall do, in about three Weeks; if you have any Commands there, you may be assured I shall take great pleasure in Executing them, & am

D^r. SirY^r much obliged hb^{le} Serv^t.

A. Johnston.†

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

in

New Haven]

LETTER OF RICHARD JACKSON.

8 Sep^t 1767

Dear Sir

I have yours of the 27th Ap^l before me. I am heartily glad to hear both of your health & of the Quiet happily reestablished in the Colony. I heartily wish it may last long & shall certainly earnestly endeavour that it shall not be disturbed by the miscarriage of the Mohegin Suit. But Events are uncertain & of Law Suits most of all. I have in my Publick Letters spoke with more Confidence than perhaps my Opinion warrants, fear-

ford, where he remained until the Revolution, when he seems to have taken refuge with the British army.

He was presumably a relative of the London publisher, Bernard Lintot (born 1675, died 1736), made famous by his relations with Pope.

* A village in Kingston, Rhode Island.

† Augustus Johnston was born in New Jersey about 1730, and had served for eight years as Attorney-General of Rhode Island (where his mother had removed), before his appointment as Stamp Distributor in 1765.

ing that an Expression of Diffidence, which could not but be known to y^e Adversarys might be the means to encourage them. Yet I sincerely think the Cause a good one & as safe as a Cause of this sort can well be, but Prejudices abound, the Case is liable to a thousand misrepresentations that will meet the Prejudices of those who have got strange Notions of the Oppressions Poor Indians have met with from Europeans, the original Justice of whose settlements in America it is now the fashion to condemn, & that too in the lump, for you know a Condemnation in the lump saves trouble.

I shall not forget to further your Interests whenever it is in my Power. I think you will not want much Assistance, but will infallibly sometime or other be somehow remembered to your advantage, but Publick Affairs have been involved in a kind of Whirlwind ever since you left us. You know long before this, that there is a Parliamentary recommendation of those, who have suffered by the Violence & Disorders occasioned by the Stamp Act. No Persons are I think named in y^e vote as it now stands, but both you & M^r Fitch were named in the House. I mentioned you both* & urged one of your Appointment as Commissioner of the Customs, before this Vote; I mentioned both afterwards as more proper since that Vote, but it was objected, that the Measure might be rendered obnoxious by naming unpopular People. This I suppose was y^e ostensible Reason only; both of you however will certainly be remembered, either by M^r Grenville, sh^d he come in, or by any other Minister. We are now in great confusion caused by the Death of M^r Townshend. There are a 1000^d Engines at Work. I cannot guess what will be the Result. . . .

I am D^r Sir with much Esteem

Y^r most Obed^t.

hble Serv^t

R. Jackson.

* The writer was a Member of Parliament for Weymouth.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

London Nov^r. 12th. 1767D^r. S^r.

Put not y^r. Trust in Parliaments nor in Princes if I was you I would assume for my Motto. In Conseq^e. of the Parliam^y. recommendⁿ. I expect^d. very soon to have had the pleasure of acquaint^e. you of some very beneficial Appointment. I was made to believe that it could not fail nor be delay'd. It was confidently expected & even relied upon that you or Gov^r. Fitch & probably both would be appointed of the Board of Customs (or as Hunske calls it board of Sallaries): beside the Vote of Parlt. you were both ment^d. by y^r. Friends to the Ministers & all proper Interest made for you, Yet we have seen that Board fill'd up & all the lucrati^e offices dependant upon it disposed of without any Notice taken of you or any of those who were recommended to the fav^r. of the Crown. And as to the Ch. J. I ment^d., nothing is said; it seems to be looked upon as full at present, & that the Reversion is not to be disposed of. It has been hinted to me indeed, but I cannot say that I rely at all upon it, that it is reserv'd for a certain Gentⁿ. now in Am^a. & to a particular purpose which I durst not mention unless I could whisper it in y^r Ear. Wh^y. says the Recommendⁿ. cannot fail to have its effect, & that the Ministry shall hear of their neglect of it in the filling up the board, & be call'd to Account for it, when Parliam^t. meets, so that you are still to expect something very clever, but what or when or where I cannot at present tell you; it may come very soon & we have already seen it may be delay'd. I am obliged to M^r W it seems not only for his friendship to me but for assuring you of mine to you; you may rely upon it that I have done & shall still do all in my Power to serve you. But if you did not already know this Country I shou'd tell you they are strange People here; Very unsteady, so exceedingly unsettled, that one is almost tempted to think all affairs go by Accident & are govern'd by Chance, rather than by design. Lord N. you have heard is Chan^r. of the Excheq^r. in lieu of Ch^s. T. & there is now little talk of a Change, which

till very lately has been confidently expected. All that I can find the Ministry are upon relative to Am^a. is the design of forming settlements in the Illinois Country & at Detroit, which they have in Consideration, in view to save the heavy expence they have been at in Indian affairs. The board of Trade have consulted the Merch^{ts}. who Report in favour of it, so that G. L. [?] affairs now go on swimmingly. Tell y^r. neighbour Tomson that Poor father Robinson died a few days ago of the small Pox, which is a sad misfort^e to the N. Hampshire cause, & what I shall do without his Evidence which was of the last Importance I know not. When I may hope to return I cannot yet foresee, as L. President gives us no Oppor^t. for a hearing of the Mohegan Case. We have been ready this 7 M^{os}. & the other side tell us they are so too. I am impatient to see an end of it & to return to my old System, for (to Ans^r. y^r. Queries) I never indulged myself with any expectation of a provision in this Country or my own which might exempt me from business. Industry in my Profession has been ever my only reliance, & tho' it may after so long an Interval at first seem a little odd to bustle again at the Bar, yet I doubt not after a while it will become again familiar. The story you had from I. H.* I doubt not is very near the Truth & will be justified by the event, but (tho' it looks too like the usual cant in these occasions) I will venture to assure you that I am as Easy about all that matter as a Man can be. I am resolved to take no Pains to be in or out. I do not condemn the favours of my Country; on the contrary I set a proper Value upon them; but I cannot anxiously court them. While the Peop^e. Imag^e. I can do them any service, I am willing to endeavour it; when they shall be of a different Opinion, I shall readily acquiesce in it without murmuring, & I think without uneasiness, unless accompanied with other Circumstances than barely being neglected. I can never so much wonder at their leaving me out as I did at their putting me in. But this is too much of myself which you will however pardon because you led me to it. The establishm^t. of

* Joseph Harrison?

the Board at B. rather than at N. Y was owing to Mr. Paxton's* Int^t. with Ch^s. Townsend who conducted that whole affair. Gov^r. Pitkins proceed^e, with respect to the Troops was at first a little grumbled at, but the proper Excuses from our Circumstances & the Nature of our Constⁿ. being made, it was pretty well approv'd. The next Questn you ask is a very shrewd one & I have been very anxious to know what was intended, & at present as far as I can discover there is no design to take any Notice of our Gov^r. or Judges, but to leave them upon their present footing. There has never you know been any Compl^t. of want of Salary from our Gov^r. or Judges, & consequently no room for his Majesty to interpose where Civil Govern^t. has been so well supported as with us & there has been so little alteration about it. In a word I think it was not an Object with those who plan'd & pen'd the Act, nor did they attend to the distinction between the Ch^r. Gov^{ts}. & the others. We had a Prince Born the 2^d Insst & the D. of Y. was Interd the 3^d. with much Pomp, so you see notwithstanding^g. our loss's we keep our stock of Royal Blood still Intire.

I am with Compl^{ts}. to all friends very affectionately

Y^r. F. & H. S.†

To Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

London Nov^r. 12th. 1767.

London Nov^r. 30th. 1767.

Dear S^r.

I wrote you a gloomy Letter the 12th. Inst^t., which I now wish you may never receive or at least not before this, since it

* At the time this letter was written Charles Paxton (born 1704. died 1788) was collector of the port of Boston. On September 8, 1767, he (as head) and four others, Hulton, Robinson, Temple, and Burch. were commissioned the American Board of Custom Commissioners to sit at Boston. under the Townshend Act of June 29 of the same year. This board met for the first time in Boston on November 18. Paxton ceased to be collector on his appointment as commissioner and was succeeded by Joseph Harrison. who arrived in America probably in 1768.

† This letter from Dr. William Samuel Johnson, as well as the two next following, is copied from his Letter-book in the Connecticut Historical Society.

must give you some pain as it did me to find we had so little Expectations that anything would be soon done for you notwithstanding the great hopes conceiv'd from the Parliam^y. Recommendⁿ. I own I began to fear for you that it had been in a manner forgot, & would be neglected, But am now very agreeably disappointed. L. North it seems bore it in Mind, & of his own accord sent to M^r. W. to know whether he tho't it would be agreeable to you to be appointed Judge of Admiralty with a sal^y of £400-0 p^r Ann at Philad^a., Virg^a., or S^c. Carolina, upon which M^r. W. was pleased to Advise with me, & upon the whole, Judging for you as I would have done for myself, It was my opinion that you sho'd accept it if fixed at either of the 2 first places, but not at Carolin^a, that being too far South for a Northⁿ. Constitution; in which M^r. W. concurring with me, & after as mature a deliberation as we could give the subject, he waited upon L. N & accept^d. with that limitation, & there seems no room to doubt that one of the two places agreed to will be pitch'd upon & you may depend will be accordingly appointed, of which I heartily give you Joy. As W. do's not chuse to be seen in the affair, it will be my part to [make !] out y^r Commissⁿ, which I will do with all the dispatch I can. What the Fees will amount to I cannot yet tell, but doubt not you will very readily repay them. The office is Honor^e. & lucrative & I hope will be agreeable to you, & if it sho'd not may probably be Exchang^d. for something that is. The Intention it seems is that there shall be only three Judges for the Continent, so that you will have a large district, & tho' you are to have no part of the Forfeitures, I take it for granted you may in time of War especially take trial fees, so it must be much better than a C. Just^p. at Common Law with the propos^d. salary of £500:0:0. & from the diff^e. of Fees in those two kinds of Courts probably not inferior in time of Peace. The session was opened the 24th, when upon the Motion for an Address in Answer to the Kings Speech M^r. Burke & y^r. Friend Wedderburn each of them gave us a fine spirited Declamatⁿ. ag^t. the Ministry, & upon the sd State of affairs both at home & abroad. M^r. Greenville pursued the same general plan but could not let poor America escape,

having taken up two or three peices wh^h I have not seen, published in the Boston Papers, which he said were Infamous libels upon Parliam^t., tended to stir up the People of that Country to sedition & rebellion & ought to be punish^d. &c &c, but they are at present deliberating upon the high Price of Provis^s & the distress's of the Poor, but seem at a loss what to do for relief.

The next day he made a formal Compl^t of those Papers, wh^h. occasion^d a good deal of debate. But finally the House, tho' they tho't them Papers of a very Ill Tendency, seem'd to think them beneath their Notice, & avoided determining upon the Compl^t. by puting the previous Question to adjorn the debate for six Months. M^r. Whately assures me he will write you by this Convey^e., so I need say no more upon Politics but with Compl^{ts}. to all Friends am

sincerely y^r. Friend & humble

Serv^t.

To Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

London Nov^r. 30th. 1767.

London Jan^{ry}. 2^d. 1768.

D^r. S^r.

I thank you for y^r. fav^r. of the 29th. of Oct^r. which I have just now received & am very happy that you approve the department assign'd for you in the Partition made of the Judgeships. You must before this time have received y^r. Commission which went with the others to Judge Auchmuty of Boston with a request to forward it to you: & I hope it came safe to hand. Happily the Fees at Doct^{rs}. Commons* did not rise so high as we were told they would, the whole sum amounting to no more than £12.9.4 which I have paid. . . .

Boston has indeed made a most insignificant figure, & exposed themselves to Infinite Ridicule in this Country. They

* Doctors Commons, the place of residence of the doctors of civil law, who practiced in the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts, was located at this time in the City of London, on St. Bennet's Hill, south of St. Paul's Churchyard. The buildings consisted of the dining-hall or commons, the hall where the courts were held, the library, and the doctors' chambers.

were certainly very unwise to talk of their Arms when they did not intend to use them, indeed they sho'd have known that the Weapons of their warfare *were not Carnal*, & that they can make a much better figure upon Paper than they can in the field—and have more effectual Arms to Combat this Country with than Musquets or Bayonets. Their Resolutions to import no goods & encourage Frugality & Industry could they keep them & engage their Neighbours to join with them would have Infinitely more weight here than any other opposition they can make, but one is apt to suspect now that they have no more firmness in that respect than with regard to Arms, & mean only to bluster & make believe which will never answer the end. . . .

Administration flushed with the success they have had in humbling the Bostonians now seem to think it their Turn to talk big & bold & hitherto seem inflexible in their Resolution not to Repeal their Laws compl^d. of by the Colon^s. at least for this session of Parl^t. nor until the Colon^s. submit to give up, or at least wave the point of Right. . . .

L. T. I believe & some others fancy that the Colo^s. are coming about, & that if they put on a face of firmness & hold a strict hand over them for a while they will submit; others even in Adⁿ. doubt it but are willing to try; yet I believe with you that the difficulty is not yet over, that the same uneasiness & the same opinions &c will continue & will continue till some Agreement & mutual understand^g is bro't about, but when or how this shall be effected I do not yet see, tho' it is most earnestly to be wished. This Country cannot yet bear the humiliating Idea of treating with that; Shall we submit to treat with our Subjects, say they? No let us rather ————. Yet the Day will come I think, & the sooner the better for us both. . . .

Heaven will I yet hope open to us some door of Reconciliation & not leave us to destroy one another as we must do in the way things are now proceeding

Y^r sincere Friend

& aff^e. hum^e. Serv^t.

Hon^l.

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

LETTER OF RICHARD JACKSON.

Southampton Buildings

12 Mar 1768

Dear Sir

It is so long since I wrote to you or heard from you that I have really forgot who is the Debtor of the two. No man can more sincerely rejoice at y^r succeeding in your wishes than I do, & therefore at a venture I should have risked the rejoicing with you, though I was not quite certain you would relish the offer made you of a seat on the Bench of Admiralty Jurisdiction,* had I not known that Wheatly had communicated that offer before† & had I not at the same time been taken up in a close Attention to my father & Brother Bridges, both of whom are since dead.‡ & then lay as they had done for some weeks before in the tortures of the Stone & Gout. This long illness of two persons for whom I had a sincere Affection & with whom I have lived so much, has perhaps left abundantly more impression on my mind, than their Deaths at a distance could have done, & the Impression is not at all lessened by the Increase of fortune I receive from them, & even little by the Consideration of the Age of one & y^e Infirmities of both.

I hope the offer I speak of will be acceptable to you: if it be not, be so good as to signify what you think will suit you best; sh^d it be in my Power, the little Assistance I can give you is at your Service.

* Owing to the stricter measures adopted after 1763 to check smuggling and enforce the acts of trade a reorganization of the system of vice-admiralty courts took place in America. The old courts remained unchanged but in 1764 a single court for all America was constituted to sit at Halifax. Later this was given up and four courts, at Halifax, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, were established with power to exercise both original and appellate jurisdiction. These are the courts referred to.

† A letter from Mr. Whately to William Samuel Johnson, November 15, 1767, mentions that Lord North had asked him if a Judgeship in the new Courts of Vice Admiralty, with an annual salary of £400, would be agreeable to Mr. Ingersoll.

‡ Mr. Jackson's father, Richard Jackson, died on January 10, 1768, and his sister's husband, Thomas Bridges (for whom see above, p. 279), on the following day.

I wish any thing could be thought of for that worthy Man Governor Fitch. I know not what to move for him; there is no man I more wish to serve, & hope it would not be difficult to succeed if one knew what would suit him.

One Reason of my now writing to you is I care not to write quite explicitly to Gov^r Pitkin on y^e Subject of y^e Mohegin Suit,* because such Letters are read publickly & come to y^e knowledge of y^e adversary. I sincerely think y^e Merits are with us, & that no such Commission ought to have issued originally, & as it has issued, it ought after this length of time to rest on y^e Determination of y^e last Commissioners; but I cannot answer for the Opinion of the Privy Council, especially considering y^e Disposition Mankind here have to believe the English Americans in general have dispossessed y^e Indians unjustly, & considering what complaints of that sort are lately come over from other parts of America, which you know enough of this Country to know, will probably be confounded with our Case.

I have wished therefore to stop the progress of the Suit without appearing to oppose the Sol^{rs} of the Indians obtaining Money from the Crown (which they cannot do without) by disclosing enough of the Affair to put the Ministry on its Guard ag^t the fine Impression of a plausible story, & by intimating that if after one such Trial asquiesced in for 20 years they advance

* A controversy had long subsisted between the Mohegan Indians of Eastern Connecticut and the Colony, respecting the validity of certain purchases of territory from the former in the seventeenth century. After protracted efforts at settlement here, the case had been transferred to England, and in October, 1766, Wm. Sam^l. Johnson had been sent by the Connecticut Assembly to London as a special Agent in this matter.

The Mohegan case was not finally disposed of until Jan. 15, 1773, when the Privy Council dismissed the appeal of the Mohegan Indians, thus affirming the decision of the commissioner of review of Aug. 16, 1743. For twenty years the appellant, Samuel Mason, acting as "guardian" for the Indians, had persisted in his effort of obtain possession of the Mohegan lands and the expenses of his appeal had been paid out of the British Exchequer. From 1769 to 1773 the colony's case was conducted by its agent-solicitor, Thomas Life. Johnson returned to America before the final decision.

more money, they may expect like Applications from 100 worn out Tribes in all the different Colonies of America; & this I have done. . . .

I am D^r Sir sincerely

y^r faithfull

hble Serv^t

R. Jackson.

LETTER OF AUGUSTUS JOHNSTON.

Newport February 7th. 1769.

Dear Sir

I came to Town late last Evening, & found your favour of the 29th. of last Month, but as the Post goes out early this Morning (I mean at 10 O'Clock) I have but to acknowledge the Rec^t of that, & the just sense I have of your Friendship, but before I set off for Carolina, I will write you more freely. I cant help saying that I am well pleased at our late appointments,* not only for our sakes, but as it shows a design in the Administration at Home, to support those Americans, who have endeavoured at acquitting themselves good subjects. God knows I am grieved at the Distresses of my Country, but can't help thinking they have brought it upon themselves, by being led by a few hotbrained people, & I don't doubt, but in a short time, the misguided ones will see their error & will know who's advice it would have been most prudent for them to have followed. M^{rs}. Johnston joyns me in Complim^{ts}. to M^{rs}. Ingersoll which includes me in hast.

Y^r very hble. Serv^t.

A. Johnston.

* Mr. Johnston had received, at the time of Mr. Ingersoll's appointment, the appointment of Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty for the Southern District, comprising the Carolinas, Georgia, and the Floridas, with headquarters at Charleston, where he arrived in May, 1769.

During the Revolution he took refuge with the British in New York City, and is said to have died there about 1779.

I agree with you, in your Sentiments of writing to Lord North, & Sir Edward Hawke, & shall enclose them, to be delivered by our Worthy Friend M^r. Whately to whom I shall write at the same time.

Y^{rs}. A J.

Honble. Jared Ingersoll

LETTERS OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

London March 8th. 1769

Dear S^r.

I have the pleasure of y^{rs}. of the 7th. of Jan^y. inclosing y^r. Bill on Mess^{rs}. Brown's & Collinson for £20:0:0. You will have seen by my last that the Estimate made of the fees upon y^r Commission, which I communicated to you, was much too high & that the sum I have advanced (including the price of 5 lb Bacon which I delivered M^r. Life* to be cons^d. with y^r. Stat^s.) is no more than £13:14:4. I have therefore made no farther use of y^r. Bill than for reimbursing myself that sum. I explain'd the matter so minutely to M^r. Brown, & have Indorsed the Order^s in part only & so particularly that I think no mistake can happen among us in Consequ^e of the Orders being larger than the sum rec'd. You would certainly enjoy this Office with much more pleasure & we sho'd be all much happier were those unfortunate disputes betwⁿ. G. B. & the Colonies settled, & I do with you most sincerely lament our unhappy situation. But at present I see little prospect of the compleation of y^r. hope that we shall soon either untie or Cut the Gordion Knot. I fear yet farther provocations on both sides, severities on this side & reluctance & Opposition on that. Perhaps we must both *feel* more effectually the folly of Quarreling before we shall have the Wisdom to be reconciled, tho' the longer it is

* Thomas Life, of Basinghall St., Cripplegate, London, was appointed in 1760 co-agent for the Colony with Jackson, acting as attorney. Jackson was the regular agent, W^m Samuel Johnson the special agent in the Mohegan case.

delay'd the more the wound festers & rankles, & the Cure becomes every day more doubtful & difficult. However, I will still hope & pray God that some proper Remedy may be found before it becomes totally incurable. Part of the present Manager's, & those who have now most Influence, are obstinate in their own Opinion, & believe or at least affect to believe that the uneasiness is not gen^l in Am^a, that they are only a factions few that disbelieve the Parliam^y. Right of Taxation or reluct at the Exercise of their Power to &c And that by standing firm or at least assuming the app^e of it, & by a few Troops & some little severities they may bring the Colon^s into a state of humble submission. Another part think it w^d be best to ease away & give up for the present at least the Actual Exercise of their Power in the litigated points, but doubt whether they can do it with Hon^r., & that doubt compells them to conform to the first ment^d. part of Admⁿ. & agree tho' faintly in the present measures. They are all indeed as you observe angry, but many of them at the same time fear. Nothing farther has however been done since the Resolutions which I communicated to you, tho' we are told that admⁿ do not intend to be silent with respect to N York, & the opposition we know propose if they can, in some mode or other, which they have not yet agreed upon, to bring American affairs again upon the Carpet; but what the Issue will be no body can pretend to say. Wilks you see has been Expelled, reelected & Expelled again, But the popular Clamour is high in his favour; his friends have set on foot a Subscription to support his Cause, which it is said fills very fast, & it may be expected he will yet occasion much bustle. I long much to see you & my other friends in A: but am still detain'd by this endless Mohegan Case & can yet fix no time for my return. In the mean time present my best Compl^{ts}. to, M^{rs}. Ingersoll & y^r. Son & all friends, & believe me to be always

Y^r. affect^e. Friend & H: S^t*

To Hon^l Jared Ingersoll Esq^r

London March 8th. 1769.

* This letter by Dr. William Samuel Johnson, as well as the next following one, is taken from his Letter-Book in the Connecticut Historical Society.

West^r. Dec^r. 9th. 1769D^r. S^r.

You have I see had a great affair before you at N York, which after all you have not the good fortune to Quiet. M^{rs}. Bayard & Livingston are Arrived to litigate it with renew'd Vigour at the Cock Pit.* I know nothing of the Controv^y. tho' I have heard them both talk of the branch's of Delaware, of the Latitude of old & new Lines, of Ancient Poss^s & Modⁿ Claims—One Circum^e. is at least m^h. in fav^r. of y^r. Decree, that you have pleased neither Party, & Truth very generally lies in the Mean between the extremes into wh^h. all contesting Parties are too apt to run. We have had indeed fine Confusions here enough to amuse a sober Man, but they are in some degree subsided. Whether the approaching Parl^t. will renew or more effectually quiet them, he must be more of a Prophet than I pretend to be who can determine. To them howev^r. all our attentⁿ. is now turn'd & we anxiously expect the Event of their deliberat^s. With regard to Am^a, Minist^y. are rather *puz-elled* than *Converted*. They hardly know what to do. They want to unite Extremes which must be Eternally seperated, the full Exercise of Prerogat^e. with the complete Enjoy^t. of Liberty. Surely they had better try to hit upon some Medium. I will not say they will, tho' I will give Credit to the good Intent^s. of some of them. Provid^e. above I begin to wish must extricate us out of the Dilemma we are in, if we are extricated. It is now I fear beyond the reach of mere human Policy to Effect it. Let us hope the best & wait the Event. You have I confess Reason to laugh at me, & I to be ashamed that I have not merited the good Opinⁿ. M^{rs}. Ing^{ll}. was so kind as to entertain of me. Had

* The Cockpit was the building on the North side of Whitehall in which the Privy Council sat and where the Secretaries of State had their offices; portions of it still form the interior construction of the Treasury building.

William Bayard and his associate had been sent over as special agents for managing the protest of New York against the decision of the thirteen Commissioners appointed to settle the boundary between New York and New Jersey; Ingersoll had been the Connecticut representative on this Commission, and was present at every one of their meetings (July-October. 1769).

the insuperable Barriers which are interpose^d between me & them. I look forw^d. to the Conn^t. Bar with satisfaction where I have enjoy'd much pleasure & think I may again. I have no Obj^{ns}. to it, but that it must keep me too much from my family & is rather too fatiguing. But why should not one be busy? Indolence is the Rust of Life. I know indeed it can afford no wealth, but I have long since settled it that Prov^e. never intended I should be rich, & if it would not be vain I would add that I think I have almost acq^rd. Philosophy enough to be very well contented without it. Be it as it may I am always

Dr. S^r.

Y^r. most ob^t. H. S^t.

You do not say a word wheth^r. you have rec^d y^r. Books or not or my Letter relat^e. to the Order you drew in my fav^r. I hope both came safe to hand.

To Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

LETTER OF DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

Killingworth 29th Dec^r 1769

Dear S^r

I receiv^d y^r Fav^r p^r post; cannot be at Hartford, but Intend for N Haven as soon as I possibly can come over.

You need not be under any Anxiety of my mentioning your Name^{*}; I have carefully avoided that. I was a little sorry I mentioned it in my Former, but still was thoughtfull it would not be unacceptable as I know the Body of the Freemen hate & fear the Consequences of the Susquehannah Affair.

This has been Co^{ll} Dyers Hobby Horse by which he has rose

* The writer here refers to a work which he is printing, *Observations on a Pamphlet . . . of which the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer is the reputed Author*. He had already printed, earlier in 1769, *A Letter to J. W.* which was also largely directed against Colonel Dyer and the Susquehannah Company in which he was so much concerned.

& as he has been unmercifull to Gov^r Fitch & Yourself I never design to Give him rest untill I make his Hobby Horse throw him into the Dirt.

If what I have now wrote dont Effect it, I design to republish his Letter to Gov^r Fitch which he published soon after his return from England in w^h he says he had done Nothing on Susquehannah Affairs, & had given himself wholly up to the Affairs of our Gov^t respecting the Stamp Act. A trusty Agent for the Comp^y!

Some of our side seem willing almost to take Coll Dyer in on our side. He is too fond of Popularity, has but few friends he can bring over, & has been too Cruel to be Admitted; I had rather have S^r Rob^t Himself.

I think my Answer to him is pretty well Calculated. I wish it was out, but the Printer is very dilatory.

I am S^r Y^r Freind & Hum^l Serv^t

Benj^a Gale.

[To

Jared Ingersol Esq^r

at

N Haven]

V. PHILADELPHIA AND NEW HAVEN, 1770-1781

Mr. Ingersoll did not remove his family to Philadelphia until April, 1771; and in September, 1777, he returned to New Haven, where he died in August, 1781.

Of the few records of this period, the most interesting are his free and confidential letters to his nephew, revealing his longing for his old home while enjoying much in the varied life of a larger social circle.

At the close of this section are added his son's letter on hearing of his death, and his epitaph.

LETTER OF DR. JACOB OGDEN.

Dear Sir,

When I had the pleasure of seeing you last Summer at New-ark, you requested my Method of Cure in the Sore Throat Disorder, which I promised you to publish; and accordingly did 2 or 3 months after in the News Papers. But agreeable to the Request of several Gentlemen as well of the medical Profession as others, I propose, as soon as I conveniently can, to publish a Treatise on said Disorder. And as I design to give a brief history of its fatal Effects, especially in North America, I beg the favor of you to inform me as soon as convenient, the Numbers as near as you can that died in N. Haven in 1739. The numbers in such families where it was most fatal. And of the greatest Mortallity in any other Towns in your Colony, or Massachusetts, especially in Cambridge, and the year it was most fatal in that Town. And also what Success has attended my method of Cure in your parts since I published it.

I also beg the favor of you to send me, if to be had among your Doctors, Dr. Duglass's Treatise on the aforesaid Disorder. I had one formerly, now lost, and am not able to procure one in New York. It shall be returned with Thanks. It may be ordered to be left at Mr. Nich^s. Hoffmans, between Coenties & the Old Slip Markets, N. York. . . .

From, Sir, your old Friend & humble Serv^t. (with my best regards to your good Lady)

Jacob Ogden.*

May 10, 1770.

[To

The Hon^{ble}

Jared Ingersoll Esq^t.

New Haven]

LETTER OF ARODI THAYER.

Sir,

Fearful lest something bad or disagreeable had taken place with your health, your Lady or son, I had set down to write by this post, when your obliging favor of the eighth came to hand.

By the middle of next month I shall have the pleasure to wait upon your honor in the city of Philadelphia by water, God willing.

“Judge Auchmuty has received no part of his Salary owing to the fines and forfeitures in his district not yet being brought to the King’s chest.”

Mr. Sewall grows more fond of his district: in a late conversation he told me, Sir, of being about resigning the Attorney-Generalship of this Province, and quitting the seat of Barristers, to attend & receive his twelve hundred pounds Sterling due in September. He says the Commissioners of the customs have money enough, the yielding of his district, to pay him, & *some to spare over*. The sign manual, or Certificate for payment, seems hard to be procured. The Commissioners & my friends are so very silent I have it not in my power to com-

* The writer was born in Newark about 1722, and was a contemporary of Mr. Ingersoll in College, although he did not graduate. His half-brother, Judge David Ogden, was graduated at Yale in 1728.

Dr. Ogden practiced medicine in Jamaica, Long Island, and is supposed to have been the pioneer in introducing (about 1750) into America the use of mercury in the treatment of inflammatory diseases. His proposed treatise never appeared, although he lived until 1780.

municate any thing material to your honor from this place or the Castle where they are—save Mr. Temple, who certainly hath weighty interest at the Treasury. He lives in this town. Mr. Robinson* is after Mr. Sewall's appointment. Franklyn, Sir, Lieut. Governor of N. Scotia, married Mrs. Robinson's only sister—Ladies of Fortune.†

May I beg the favor of my Respects to your Lady and for Mr. Ingersoll.

I am with all possible deference,

Your honors most obedient humble servant

A. Thayer.‡

Boston August 13th. [1770.]

The hon. Mr. Ingersoll.

LETTER OF JUDGE AUGUSTUS JOHNSTON.

Newport 21st. August 1770.

Dear Sir

Your favour of the 8th. Instant I did not receive timely to send you an answer last post, as I was not in Town. Whatever may be the Fate of some other Things, that the People clamour about, I can't think the Admiralty Courts upon the late Plan will be abolished. I lately rec^d. a Letter from Dummer Andrews Esq^r. from London, dated at the Navy Office the 5th. June last, who is appointed Register of the Court established at Charlestown, S^o. Carolina, enclosing me a Blank Deputation, desiring me to appoint some proper Person to act in his Behalf, & to agree with him respecting the Terms, as I find he is to reside in England. He writes me that he delayed sending it

* Hon. John Robinson, former Commissioner of Customs.

† Michael Francklin, Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia in 1766, married in 1762 Susannah, daughter of James Boutineau, of Boston; Mr. Robinson married her sister Anne in 1769.

‡ Arodi Thayer, born in Braintree, Mass., in 1743, was the Marshal of the Massachusetts District of the Vice-Admiralty Court, as well as of Judge Ingersoll's District.

'til he saw the Issue of the business in Parliament, and that he is now well assured from his Friends, both in, & out, that it is the determination of the Principals of both sides to support that Plan. I have not as yet rec^d. any Part of my Salary. When I was in Boston last October, M^r. Auchmuty* showed me a Letter he had rec^d. from M^r. Hallowell† in London enclosing him a copy of the minutes of the Treasury Board wherein it was determined, that we should be allowed our Salaries from the dates of our Commissions, provided we entered upon the Execution of our Offices in six months from the date. M^r. Hallowell further informed M^r. Auchmuty that an Order would be soon made out for the Payment thereof, since which I have not heard any thing more; but as M^r. Hallowell is expected every day in Boston I expect by him to hear something agreeable. As soon as I hear any thing that concerns us, you may be assured I will advise you. I have not done any Business in the Office myself yet. I left Carolina the 6th. of May, & a few days after I left it, there were two Seizures made, which have been tryed by my Deputy in my absence. I propose to set off for Charlestown the beginning of November again, & shall stay the Winter there. M^{rs}. Johnston joyns with me in Complim^{ts}. to you & M^{rs}. Ingersoll which concludes me.

D^r. Sir

Y^r. most Obed^t. hble. Serv^t.

A. Johnston

LETTER OF THOMAS WHATELY.

Esher 11th. Oct^r 1770

Dear Sir

You complain of my Neglect so much in your Letter of 16th August, that tho' I wrote to you in June, & nothing has since

* Robert Auchmuty, Jr., had been appointed Judge of Vice-Admiralty for the New-England district, and both he and Mr. Ingersoll were in active service; but Mr. Johnston does not appear ever to have actually held Court in Charleston.

† Robert Hallowell of Boston was Comptroller of the Customs.

occur'd, I write again to prove that I do not neglect your Correspondence. We have received the News of the Non-importation Scheme being broken at New-York,* the Ministry with Exultation, & the People with Indifference; for we had found out that the Non-importation Scheme itself was a meer Bravado; now your Merchants have found it out also; some of your People carried on the Trade clandestinely, while the Agreement subsisted; & now who please may carry it on openly; that is all the Difference; we have exported the whole time large Quantities to America. The Ministers however rejoiced at the Dissolution of that Combination, because it relieved them from the Difficulty of proposing the Means to break it: & since, the Alarms of an approaching War have diverted the Attention of all from the Colonies to our own immediate Situation; it is not yet certain, but it seems very probable, & has all the usual Effects already. The Parliament, which was to meet soon, before the Intelligence came from New York; & which was not to meet soon, when that Intelligence was received: is now to meet in a Month on account of the Apprehensions of a War; what melancholy Subjects wait for our Deliberation!

I am very glad to find that you are at last determin'd to settle at Philadelphia; it was a necessary Precaution; tho' at present I do not hear any Talk of the Admiralty Courts; & I suppose we have too much Business on our hands to take them into consideration. Dr Johnson I conclude is sail'd, as I have not heard of him lately; you will remember me to him, if you see him; he is a very valuable Man; I shall always respect him. The Apples you mention to have sent me, I did not receive; I believe very few, if any, came sound last Winter. I received your Letter while M^{rs} Norths happen'd to be with us; & immediately presented your Comp^{ts} to them & to my Mother; they all desire theirs in return. My Mother's Abode at Old Windsor was but temporary; she is now fixed at Esher in Surry, about

* The Non Importation agreement was broken by the New York merchants in July, 1770, because they were satisfied with the partial repeal of the Townshend Acts.

15 Miles from town, & eight from Nonsuch; I have spent the Summer with her; but am now going to town; continue your Direction to the Care of my Brother.

Dear Sir

Your most obed^t & faithful Serv^t

Thomas Whately.

[To the Hon^{ble}

Jared Ingersol Esq

New Haven

Connecticut

New England]

LETTER OF WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Stratford June 15th. 1772.

D^r. S^r.

. . . I have ever since y^r. Arrival amongst us intended to spend a day with you at New Haven if I could not get you over to Stratford. One way or other we must meet. The only thing I have to urge is that you have more leisure than I have. The want of leisure is almost my only misfortune, & I have less now than I hope to have by & by when I have a little arranged my Affairs after so long neglect of them. At present I am absolutely engaged, but in a week or two if you cannot come here I will certainly ride over to N Haven.

I feel but too sensibly the Evils you complain of in this Colony, & know perfectly well that you impute them to their true Cause, an Ill Judged fear of the People, which will infallibly ruin this fine Colony unless we can have the spirit to rise superior to it. At present I fear few or none will do it, but such Men will I trust be found before it be too late to save us from destruction. It is in vain, as you hint, to Complain while we should be looking out for remedies. I am extremely glad to find you have turn'd y^r. Attention to this part of the subject,

& shall be happy in the Communication of your thoughts upon it. Pray consider it in the manner the Importance of it merits.

The sentiments of our Friends in England is a subject of too great length for this hasty Letter. I defer it till we meet. Junius Amer^s. is one Dr. Lee a Virginian,* late a Physician, now a Lawyer, a sensible but very sanguine Man, who is Connected a little with L. Shelburne, & most heartily hates L. Hillsborough because Shelburne does not love him. He delights in the fire and fury of a Party, & is perfectly well adapted to please the Bostonians. These Countrymen of ours have acted a very Idle part, & have, inter nos, made themselves very ridiculous on both sides of the Atlantic. I am in utmost haste

Dr. Sr. Y^r. most obed^t.

humble Serv^t.

W^m. Sam^l. Johnson

[To

Jared Ingersoll Esq^r.

New Haven]

LETTER TO ELIAS SHIPMAN.

Mr. Elias Shipman:

Sir,—Please to keep the Homelot altogether free from depasturing this Fall & next Spring. In the Season get it mowed, next year, & put the Hay in the Barn. Get the Dung made by the Stable carried on the Lot & spread this Fall, and the Chip Dung next Spring put on the Garden. Inform Henry Toles, when he calls on you, by what Vessel he shall send to New York on the Way to Philadelphia, eight barrels Cider, which he will provide, and write a line by the Master to Mr William Dimming at New York to store the same & ship p^r first Conveyance to me at Philadelphia. Call on Jonathan Ingersoll for Money to pay Freight &c. Prindle will bring five or

* Arthur Lee (born 1740. died 1792) was the author of *Junius Americanus*.

six barrels of Cider, which store in the Cellar. In the Spring early rack off & put again into the same Barrels.

Buy 30 or 40 Posts in the Course of the Winter, if you can conveniently, thrifty White Oak, 9 feet long, of a proper Size to replace those round the wood yard. Put them under the Hovel to Season. Enoch Baldwin has promised to bring some on Acco. of his Note. I do not depend much upon him. Sell Jerry's Desk; it cost £7; is new; get what you can for it. Perhaps it will be best to send it to Sea.

Pay Newman Trowbridge for 8 Barrels, for the Cider that Toles is to furnish. Call on Jonathan for the Money. Mr. Ebenezer Townsend, Junr. may call upon you for about 30 sh. to pay for Sticks for Trough to the House; if so, call on Jonathan for the Money.

Lay in 20 Bushels of Oats for me next Season. Put out a locust Tree in the Yard near the Gate where that was which blew down; also remove that in the Garden opposite the Kitchen about 2 feet into the Middle of the Border. In the Spring get a Hand to cut from the Cedar Posts in the Chaise Room, little pieces to drive into the Ground in the Garden & nail anew where 'tis wanting, the alley Boards. Let Capt. Maltbie of Paug have his two, or any two old Barrels, when he wants to get them.

J. Ingersoll.

Oct^r. 1772.

[Signed and dated by Jared Ingersoll: the rest in the hand of his nephew, Jonathan Ingersoll.]

LETTERS TO JONATHAN INGERSOLL.

Philadelphia Nov^r. 22^d. 1773

S^r.

You tell me "I have doubtless seen in the papers who are appointed Judges in the County Court & an Account of Co^l. Hubbards death." I tell you I have not seen nor heard a word

of these matters. I have seen indeed just a word in Goddards paper of the death of Co^l. Hubbard*—and that is all; & have, as you may easily guess, been greatly distressed ever since to know who supplied his several Offices; and when I saw your Letter, knowing it was yours by the hand writing of the Super-scription, I feasted on the full expectation of being amply informed upon this head—but instead of that, I am only told, “that I have doubtless been informed by News papers”! It would not have cost you a whit more Ink or time, to have told me who these persons were. As for Greens paper† I have never seen more than one since my coming here, and that happened to be a most barren one; tell Green if he dont take care to get them to me, he must not expect I will pay him for them. As to our News, Printers here, you know, they dont care a groat who is Judge of Probate, or of any thing else in that Country of Selectmen & Grandjurors. I assure you this disappointment has so Chagrined me, that I recieved little, or no pleasure in the News of D. Lymans Marriage,‡ or even at Parson Birds§ Misfortune. Oh! dreadfull! this affair of his, however, upon recollection is no Laughing matter; if things are come to that pass, that some folks maynt say what they please about those they dont like, I think its very hard indeed. All my remaining Comfort is that when the Susquehannah Com^e. come here, I shall be able to find these and several other matters.

We have not received any Letter from Jerry since being here, tho we have heard of him by a hint in a Letter to M^r.

* Colonel John Hubbard was partly disabled by a paralytic shock in May, 1772, and died on October 30, 1773, in his 70th year. His successor as Judge of Probate was John Whiting (Yale 1740), who was a brother of Mrs. Jared Ingersoll, and whose first wife was a sister of Jonathan Ingersoll.

† Thomas Green was the publisher of the *Connecticut Journal*.

‡ Daniel Lyman, Jr. (Yale 1770), of New Haven, married Statira Camp on November 15, 1773.

§ Rev. Samuel Bird (born 1724, died 1784) was the pastor of the White Haven Society in New Haven from 1751 to 1767, and continued to reside here.

Reed from his brother M^r. Debert^{**} as late as the 20th. of Aug^t. . . .

We are glad to hear of the welfare of the family, to whom please to present our kind Compliments. I hope M^r. Shipman has forwarded the Sider from Toles and the Cane I left at Beldens in my way hither.

I am

Y^{rs}. &c

Jared Ingersoll.

You dont tell me whether M^r. Isaacs[†] has Executed the bond for the purpose of Spreading a little Gospel among the back Carolinians. Moses Tuttle[‡] has been here lately. I imagin he would gladly take the Shovel in hand upon that Occasion.

[To

Jonth. Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

New Haven

Connecticut.]

Philadelphia Dec^r. 20th. 1773

S^r.

it never can rain but it must pour—is an old saying. You have told me at last who is Judge of Probate and all that, when the Connect^t. Plenipo's§ have been able to tell me that and

* Joseph Reed, a prominent young lawyer in Philadelphia, had married in 1770 a daughter of Dennis De Berdt, of London, the Colonial Agent of Massachusetts.

† Ralph Isaacs (Yale 1761) was a prosperous and high-spirited merchant in New Haven, one of whose daughters subsequently married Jonathan Ingersoll. He was a prominent adherent of the Church of England.

‡ Moses Tuttle (Yale 1745) was an eccentric Congregational preacher, now living in Windsor, Connecticut, but always in financial straits.

§ Eliphalet Dyer, William Samuel Johnson, and Jedidiah Strong, members of a committee appointed by the Connecticut General Assembly in October, 1773, to treat with the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania concerning the Connecticut claim to certain lands in the western part of that Province, conferred with Governor Penn at Philadelphia in December, and printed a Report of their mission in 1774.

twenty times as much. I have had a pretty agreeable as well as plentiful meal upon the whole.

these Gentlemen will be able to tell you in few words, the number & Kind of Agreements which they have brought M^r Penn to Enter into with them, respecting y^e Connect^d Claim.

I have received a Letter from Son dated Sept^r. 8th.: he sais he hopes you will be the better for M^r. Hilhouses* proposition (here I find he is mistaken) but says you never can hope to rise on the political List if you fire guns late at night & walk before Sunset on Sabbath days—and that his only Comfort is that you are not as yet quite so bad as they are in France where he says he has seen em after Service in the Country dancing to the Violin—the Priest himself playing at hundreds—and Card-playing, at the Taverns—oh! terrible—but they are Roman Catholicks—Rank Papists—& so one cannot much wonder at any thing they do.—Jerry was just setting out with a M^r Henry,† a Templer from Maryland, upon a tour to Portsmouth, Bath, Bristoll, Oxford & Cambridge, and then says, he finds he shall spend so much time this year in travailing that he suspects he shall want another year to study in.

the receipt which Jerry took from Cap^t. Clarke for Floyds money, is not here. I hope you will be able to find it: if you shall, let me know it, for my Ingersoll temper will not allow me to be quite Easy until I know how the matter stands.

the Sider is arrived here—desire M^r Shipman to Enquire out the Cane. . . .

But one word about tea. We have just heard that a tea Ship is arrived at Charlestown S^o Carolina; and what is worse, that the Boston tea has found its way into Town notwithstanding all the blood which the Boston people Declared they—intended—to Spill upon the Occasion. I hope this Story is not true—indeed, now I think ont, it cannot be true, for here is a Man from Boston sent on purpose to tell us what Clever fellows they are, and to watch *us* to see that we do our duty; never

* James Abraham Hillhouse (Yale 1749), a leading lawyer in New Haven, and at this time one of the Upper House in the Colony Assembly.

† John Henry (born 1750, died 1798), a graduate of Princeton College (1769), afterwards Senator and Governor of Maryland.

fear us, we say but little, but we are as firm as so many rocks. Our Ship has not yet been heard of, but she is never to touch a wharf in this place nor be allowed to take out anybodys goods. Dont let what I have said upon this head get into the Boston Spy*—for if it should, some people will Spy high Treason, in every word; besides, to tell the truth, I have a little feeling for America upon this Occasion—as much as a Judge of Admiralty is allowed to have. Master Pope, you know, says—whatever is is right: I will try to be of his opinion.

I am &c

J. Ingersoll.

Mr Johnson tells me your father is mending which I rejoice to hear: remember me to him in much Affection.

24th. poor Mrs Babcock!† Oh dear! Sic transit gloria Mundi.

25th. Oh brave Boston‡—If you and I are not furnished with a little bit in our way, after this, I shall wonder. I wish you a Merry Christmas.

[To

Jonth. Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N Haven.]

LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF THE CONNECTICUT JOURNAL.

Mess^{rs} Greens,

Please to insert the following in your next, as my answer to all that has been, or that may hereafter be published, in the New London, or other newspapers in Connecticut, respecting me, and

* *The Massachusetts Spy* was the title of an intensely patriotic weekly paper published since March, 1771, by Isaiah Thomas in Boston.

† Colonel Henry Babcock (Yale 1752), of Stonington, Connecticut, had begun to show symptoms of insanity.

‡ The final postscript was added after receipt of the news of the tea having been thrown overboard in Boston harbor on the evening of December 16.

the part I have taken in the affair of the Susquehannah Company.*

When I went to England in 1758, a gentleman,† since deceased, for whom I had the highest esteem, furnished me with a copy of the act of assembly in favour of the Susquehannah Company, desiring that I would inform myself, in the best manner I could, of the sentiments of people in power, and others in England, upon the matter; this I took care to do, and upon my return home in 1761, I communicated to the Company, by letter fully and frankly, what I had met with, and as every thing I had to communicate wore a very discouraging aspect, I took the liberty to advise them to give up early, a project, which, I thought in the end must prove abortive.

This step brought upon me a suspicion, among many of the adventurers, that I had been bribed in England, by Mr. Penn. A story which however idle and groundless, many of these people have been fond of believing; or pretending to believe, ever since.—The affairs of that Company have taken various turns since that time; through the whole of which, I have never taken any part, or troubled myself with their concerns, until the last summer, when being at my former home, at New-Haven, I accidentally met with a pamphlet wrote on the side of the Susquehannah Claim, addressed to J. H. Esquire: in this performance I found mention made of antient memorials respecting the history and title of the colony, some of which were quite new to me—this put me upon searching more fully into the matter, the consequence of which was, that I became more convinced than ever of the groundlessness of the colony's claim to the western lands; and in order to preserve the train of my own ideas of the matter, I committed them to writing.

The materials and papers which I had thus collected, I obtruded upon none: at the same time I shewed them freely to every one who desired to see them, and one of the Susquehannah Gentlemen took a complete copy of the piece, which I wrote, and

* *The Connecticut Gazette*, of New London, had published on February 11 some reflections on Mr. Ingersoll for having cast aspersions on the Susquehannah settlers.

† Mr. Edwards [note by the author]. This was Judge Daniel Edwards (Yale Coll. 1720), of Hartford, born 1701. died 1765.

I own I should have been happy, if by these, or any other means, the assembly had been prevented from taking the steps which they have since taken.

When I came to Philadelphia, I said nothing to any one of my having any papers relating to this matter; but after a few weeks it became known that I had such papers; when Dr. Smith the Provost of the College here, came to me and requested a sight of them, informing me that he was writing upon the subject of the Susquehannah Claim—other Gentlemen applied to me to the same purpose.—At first I declined doing any thing in the matter, merely from motives of my own quiet, and to avoid a quarrel with the Susquehannah people, who I knew were always disposed to think the worst of every thing I said or did relating to their affairs. I determined at least not to take any steps until after the Gentlemen Committee had had their treaty with the Governor.

In the mean time I considered of the matter—I was told that the colony claim to the western lands was now become a serious affair to this province—that every material paper of a public nature ought to be known to both the parties, and that I ought to consider myself in my present situation, as equally a friend to both—in a word, I found that I was in danger of giving umbrage by withholding, as well as by giving up the papers. Further, I recollected that several Gentlemen in Connecticut, in high estimation for their friendship to America in general, as well as to that colony in particular, had expressed their wishes to me, to have the whole of this matter laid open to the public view, by some person who was not in the Susquehannah interest, that so the public might have a chance of seeing both sides of the question; and finally I was aware, from experience, that in case I should communicate nothing, I should be suspected of communicating every thing, and even more than everything that I knew.—Upon the whole therefore, I concluded to deliver to Dr. Smith, to be published, the records and papers which were in nature of proofs, as I had been able to collect them, taking care to publish every thing that I thought material, as well for, as against the claim.—I also gave him the manuscript, which I had wrote upon the subject, for him to take from thence,

and make use of any of my thoughts upon the matter, or not, as he should think proper.* And I cannot but think my conduct in these particulars, has been right.

Thus much then I have done, and now I have nothing more to do—the public measures are taken, and I suppose are to be pursued, and I will leave to time to discover, who have been the colony's best friends, those who have urged, or those who have dissuaded from these measures—A defeat will be very detrimental, but a victory must be absolute ruin to the colony, at least, I think so—And who shall hinder me from speaking, or publishing my sentiments, if I am disposed to do either? Will any one presume to interpose his authority, in a squabble about a tract of land, and command that nothing shall be wrote or said, except on one side only? Or do those who are loudest in the cry for the freedom of the press, mean that the press should be free only for themselves? Away with all such language—and away with all low squibbing, and base insinuation.

I am not in the secret of the counsels of this province, nor am I actuated by any lucrative or sinister views.—I have believed the people were going wrong, therefore have I spoken.—I have an interest in the colony and have a right to speak; and I wish, since there is like to be a dispute between the two colonies, that the same may be carried on, on both sides, with a temper and spirit becoming men, who shall appear to act from principle, and not from wild enthusiasm, or party heat. There are certain people at this time, who if a word is said against dear Susquehannah, behave as if they thought an open attack was made upon their honour and their property; and impute all that is said to the worst motives—They can charge nothing of the kind upon me, but what I may just as well charge upon them, with this difference however, that they have confessedly a personal interest in the matter, when I have none.—I am

* Dr. William Smith published in 1774, in the Appendix to his (anonymous) *Examination of the Connecticut Claim to Lands in Pennsylvania*, the copies made by Mr. Ingersoll from original papers.

A manuscript entitled *The Claim of the people of Connecticut, to Lands within the Province of Pensilvania. Considered*, is preserved among Mr. Ingersoll's papers, but it has not been thought necessary to print it here.

aware that people who take opposite sides of a popular question naturally fall into parties, and a party spirit is apt to gain ground—but this again is mutual. Was the dispute about the constitutional rights and liberties of the people, great allowances might be made—but this is a controversy about property and provincial lines—Will it be said that as I have no interest of my own, I ought not to meddle in the matter, but I have an interest in the colony, and with its welfare—Further, what have I done that so alarms these gentlemen? I have divulged no secrets committed to my trust—I have only brought up to public view, a few more ancient records than they themselves published—and will any one of those people openly avow to the world, that they would willingly, if they could, attain a cause of this magnitude and complexion, by the suppression of records, which, from the circumstances their antagonists could not come at? they might as well move the assembly to destroy all the records which make against their claim. What I wrote upon the subject is of no consequence, if the reasonings are not just, and if they are, I think they ought to have a weight. — —

Shame on those then, who under feigned names, in news papers, attack those who venture to oppose them—not with arguments—this would be fair and right—but with abuse, and even with intimidation.

They don't consider that it is equally in the power of others, to trace the conduct of the principal leaders and managers among the Susquehannah company, through all their negotiations for twenty years past, and with the help of a few groundless reports—ill natured hints—and wicked innuendoes, to explain their motives—their views—and their conduct, in a manner, that would do them little honour; but I will not myself so far forget the rights of humanity as to follow the vile example.

Philadelphia, }
 March 7, 1774 }

J. I.

From *The Connecticut Journal, and the New-Haven Post-Boy*,
 March 18, 1774.

LETTERS TO JONATHAN INGERSOLL.

Philadelphia March 12, 1774

Sr.

Yours of the 27th. Ult. arrived two days ago. I am much obliged to you for the Sundries by way of News & shall observe your Caution. The Councils of this Province are very Secret. The people here are all of one mind as to the Connecticut Claim, and they leave to the Gov^r. & his Council to devise the proper methods to oppose the Same, about which, I assure you, they say nothing to me or I to them. A Scurilous piece or two having appeared agst. me in the New London paper, I thought proper to send a short Narrative to be published in that and the New Haven paper, which I suppose you will see next week. Our news publishers here I find do not republish any thing wrote upon the subject in Connecticut. I cannot but think the Assembly of your Colony were guilty of an imprudence little short of madness, when they passed the Votes of last Jan^y. making & planting a Town in this Province,* and I think it is a great Chance if you dont live to see much greater Consequences flow from it, than most people are aware of. The people here begin to Consider the Northern New England men as a Set of Goths & Vandals who may one day overrun these Southern Climes unless thoroughly opposed, and to this End they will naturally Court the friendship of the Mother Country.

I dont know of any thing that appears more likely to work a Separation of the Colony Interests, than this Step. New York looks with a jealous eye on the Massachusetts, expecting that they will follow the Example of Connecticut, & I suspect it will not be very long, before these several Colonies will hate even old England, less than they will one another.

the following is the history of "Russell" and the late publications here. The Collector awhile ago made a Seizure of one of the river Vessells called a Shallop for a Cause that is very interesting to the people in trade. Great preparations have been making and the Cause is expected to come on in about a

* Westmoreland, in the Wyoming country.

fortnight. This threw the Town into a fret. Russell proves to be a M^r Jacob Rush,* a young Gentleman of the Law and with whom Jerry had some little Acquaintance. This M^r Rush by all accounts is not wanting in his Understanding, but is so overloaded with a family disorder commonly called Vanity & Self Conceit, that he is seeking every opportunity of rendring himself famous, but hitherto without Effect. He had heard so much said in News papers about the Extension of the powers of Admiralty Courts that he thought there must needs be something in it, & so went gravely to work to shew his profound Learning in evincing it. This gave me an opportunity, under the signature of Civis, of shewing his Mistake, and I am credibly informed that M^r Rush's own freinds advised him to drop the Controversy. The Consequence of the whole, I beleive, has been the fixing me more surely in my office; indeed, however, the people here, as every where else, are disposed not over much to like Courts of Admiralty, so far as they have any thing to do with Seizures, upon the late Obnoxious Acts, yet they know that if there should come a war, they would want such Court, and they know their own interest too well to wish to have this Court of Appeal carried away from themselves to New York or elsewhere. . . .

Y^{rs}. &c.

J. Ingersoll.

The Jersey College Lottery begins drawing the 25th May.

[To

Jonth. Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

New Haven

Connecticut.]

* Jacob Rush, born 1746, died 1820, a younger brother of Dr. Benjamin Rush, and a graduate of Princeton College in 1765. He became a lawyer of distinction in Philadelphia, and Chief Justice of the State.

The article by him, signed 'Russel,' appeared in *The Pennsylvania Journal* for January 26, 1774; Mr. Ingersoll's reply, signed 'Civis,' in the same paper for February 2; and a second article by 'Russel' in the *Journal* of February 9, and also in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of the same date.

Philadelphia Oct. 24th. 1774S^r.

. . . . Present my Comp^s. to M^r. Chandler* & tell him that if you forgot to acquaint me with his being chosen Deputy, M^r. Shipman did not—and that I had the pleasure to acquaint M^r. Sherman with it. By the way Co^l. Dyer & M^r. Dean & I, have smoakt the pipe together at my house.†

tell M^r. Chandler I sincerely congratulate him on this his Success, and that I must suppose he owes the same in part to his so openly keeping my Company last Summer. Here again, to what you observe of my not being very well received here—if I am not, I have the pleasure not to know it; my friends & Acquaintance are just as they used to be, as to other persons, whatever they think of me, they keep it to themselves.‡

And now what shall I say to you further? I intended to have wrote largely by the Delegates to M^r. Whiting§ & other friends, but I find myself under a difficulty in that respect, both with regard to them & you, for whatever I write must Savour of politicks at least, and as to that, I have first of all to remember *Lots Wife*—that is Parson Peters,|| & to take care not to sin after the Similitude of his transgression—but then how to avoid this is the question, for if I write the word *Yes* ever so plainly, good people have a right at this day, to read the same as plainly *No*. Every one has his Eyes & his thoughts fixt just now upon the Congress, anxious to know what they have done—what they have said—and what they have thought. Nothing else therefore can amuse you; but as to the first

* Joshua Chandler (Yale 1747) was one of the deputies to the Connecticut General Assembly from New Haven in October, 1774.

† Roger Sherman, Eliphalet Dyer, and Silas Deane were members from Connecticut of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia.

‡ Silas Deane in a letter to his wife writes on September 3, 1774, of finding that Mr. Ingersoll is much condemned by public opinion in Philadelphia. See *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, ii, 170.

§ Deacon & Judge John Whiting (Yale 1740), a brother of the writer's wife.

|| Rev. Samuel Peters (Yale 1757). of Hebron, Connecticut, had exposed himself in August and September, 1774, to visitation by angry neighbors on account of disloyal utterances, and had now taken refuge with the British in Boston.

I dont know what they have done, that is I dont know it authoritatively, & if I were to undertake to tell you a long Story of what I have heard it—& then to morrow out should come in print all that they have done, & differing in several particulars from my account of the matter, I shall be charged at once with having had some sinister views in telling the Story as I did—and why should I trouble you with guesses of what they have said, & thought, when the Delegates themselves are coming directly to you and will themselves inform you of the whole matter. I will therefore only acquaint you in general, that I understand they have sat till they have found out pretty clearly, that the Parliament have no kind of Authority over us, tho for prudential reasons they are willing that some of their Laws respecting the Course of trade should remain for the present, that is, as I understand, till they can do better; and that they have adjourned themselves to next Spring in order to see how the people on either Side the water will Relish their politicks. I could tell you long Stories of what one said, and another had a good mind to say—but I wont: You must find it out by your learning. Tell Green not to forget to send my paper.

I am

Y^{rs}. &c

J. Ingersoll

. . . Let me know as soon as you can how the nomination stands.

25th. . . . Pray tell me whereabouts in the Green Liberty pole stands and who are the principal members of the Patriotick Club which meet at Steph: Munsons in order to take care of the N. Haven Tories. John Sherman I perceive by the publick papers, is Clerk.

A M^r. Devotion was at my house last Evening and gave me the particulars of the Norwich meeting: the Story of my Letter writing I find by him came to nothing upon Examination. Co^l. Dyers tells me he never did hear much said upon that Score: it was Parson Trumbull who Communicated my Treasonable principles & Conduct to y^e good people of the East. The

Anonymous Letter was wrote from Norwich but the persons name is withheld from me.

I perceive one poor lad has sacrificed his life at Southington in the Cause of Liberty-Pole

the Delegates will, I believe, break up to-morrow. . . .

[To

Jonth: Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

p^r favour of

R: Sherman Esq^r.]

Philadelphia 11th. Feb: 1775

S^r

Your Aunt thanks you for a little, of what she hoped to have had a great deal, viz home news; but says she finds she must not expect much till you & I both get politicks out of our heads.

in answer to your queries I have to inform you in the first place, that it is well known here, that M^r Dickinson in the Provincial Congress the last Summer, took a Strong part against non importation agreements, and every kind of foreible measure, and was for moderation, that is for a Decent & firm application for a redress of greivances; in a spirited Speech which he made upon that Occasion he told the Com^{te}. that Philad^a. was a trading City, and that if they went into Schemes of non importation they might expect to have grass grow in their Streets. He afterwards went into the Continental Congress, tho' late in their Session, where he joined and took a part with them in their System, and is appointed one of the Com^{te}. to carry thier resolves into Execution, but seldom, if ever, attends thier meetings—and in general is very Silent upon the head of politicks.

the more warm Patriots are rather out with him for the part he took in the Provincial Congress last Aug^t., and for his Seeming want of Zeal Since; yet they are fond of having it thought he is of their side, for the sake of that weight which

they think his name & Character give to their Cause—and they Account for his not attending on thier Com^{te}. meetings, and perhaps justly, from his living three Miles out of Town, and the Season disagreeable for travailing. Add to this, that he may Consider himself rather above putting his hand to the executive part of the business, and that his name was added to the Com^{te}. principally to give them a weight and respectibility; others will have it that he Spoke his real Sentiments in the Provincial Congress last Summer, and that in his Judgment he disapproves the Violent part of the resolutions of the general Congress and is much Alarmed at the Consequences which he apprehends from them; but that he joined, or rather acquiesced in those measures in order to give weight & force to the Counsels of America & to prevent the ill Effects of a disunion.

the Quakers have, not long since, publicly disavowed all *unwarrantable Combinations*: it is said they are not all of a mind as to this Step; at the same time it is well known they never openly disagree, or divide one from another.

the Committees of the Several Counties, except one that declined coming, were lately Convened at this place, in order, among other things, to Consider of the expediency of arming the Province. This measure was Considerably and openly opposed by many people of weight & influence, and the matter dropt. The Com^{te}. indeed passed a Vote that they would arm if necessary, but the measure is generally Considered as given up.

in the meantime the body of the people so far give in to the Ideas of the Congress, respecting Trade, as to suffer the Com^{te}. without any interruption to proceed to carry into Execution their plan of opposition, from that quarter, & wait to have you New England men drive the English Troops into the Sea, whenever you shall think it proper, and when you have done this I beleive we mean to deal generously with you, and reward you properly for your trouble.

I have received several letters lately from Jerry who I dare say has Communicated nothing to me, of Substance, but what he has also Communicated to you. It is a time of anxious & most important expectation. We shall soon have all our Con-

jeitures fully explained to us. I only wish matters may end better than my present fears Suggest. . . .

Ridgfield* I find speak their mind plainly and not in parables. I delay giving any directions about buying Oats, because I dont know whether I shall Choose to be placed in New England or not, next Summer.

I expect to be able to form a better Judgment of y^e matter by the beginning of April at farthest.

I am

Y^{rs}. &c

J. Ingersoll.

[To

Jonth: Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

in Connecticut.]

Philadelphia March 10th. 1775

S^r.

You judged very right when you thought I wished to know what your Assembly were about. Your Aunt had jogged me several times to call on you for information, but I told her, I was very sure you would not fail to Communicate Every thing that was proper to be Communicated and as soon as it should be proper. Never was that House Employed on a more important or a more delicate & Critical business. The same thing may be said of the highest Assembly in the Nation. We have here just arrived some Accounts from England a little flattering; you will see what it is in the next weeks papers; it is what comes by the way of Bristoll. For my part I dont stand to make any remarks upon the prologue or the detached parts of the great Scene that must soon fully open upon us. I Charge you however at the Close of the Session, to give me a pretty

* At a Town Meeting held in Ridgefield, Connecticut (where Mr. Ingersoll's brother was the minister), on January 30, 1775, resolutions of loyalty to the King had been passed by a large majority.

ample Account of persons, as well as things, as they Stood in the Assembly. You may depend on my prudence to the point of Secreey; besides there are scarce any persons here, who know or think any thing about individuals with you; add to this, Every thing will come out, that is transacted in so large a popular Assembly. Your Narritive in your last gave me very particular pleasure. Pray why is not Danbury as deep in the dirt, as poor Ridgfield & Newtown are in the mire? According to Rivington they ought to be so.

Your Aunt & I jump in Judgment intirely with M^r. Silliman & M^{rs}. Noyes, in their opinion of the propriety of their Coming together*—& we wonder how we came not to think of it before: to whom present our respectfull Compliments, with our sincere & hearty wishes for their United happiness. . . .

M^r. Webster† desires you will procure & send to me for him, the Queries from the Board of Trade 1773 to your Gov^r. and the Answers, which it seems are printed in a small Pamphlet. You must send it with wrapper open at Each End & get it Frank'd by M^{rs}. Kilby‡ or it will come to hand too dear.

You will observe that I give no directions about laying in oats this year—not being yet clear that New Haven will be a proper asylum next Summer for a Tory, and yet I think I ought to pass for a Patriot, for I have drank no Tea since March came in—thin Chocolate in the morning, & Baume & Sage in the afternoon, are the honourable & healthy Substitutes; to tell the truth I was willing to try an Alterative this Spring in favour of the blood. I suspect you & I too can tell better a month hence how the times are like to be at N Haven the next Summer, than we can just now.

Every thing here is very quiet outwardly, tho' tis said the workings of party are not wanting amongst us. We do things

* Gold Selleck Silliman (Yale 1753), of Fairfield, married in May, 1775 (being then a widower), Mary (Fish), widow of John Noyes (Yale 1753), of New Haven. They were the parents of Professor Benjamin Silliman.

† Pelatiah Webster (Yale 1746), of Philadelphia, later became widely known as an authority on economic and financial questions.

‡ Captain Christopher Kilby, Postmaster at New Haven, died on March 1, 1774; and the office remained with his family until January, 1775.

more Covertly and with less noise here than they do in New England. I trust in Case the Connecticut forces should be called forth against the Kings Troops, that you will not degrade yourself by going in a Character below that of a Colonel.

by the way a Pamphlet is lately come out Entituled A Candid Examination of the mutual Claims of G. Britain and the Colonies &c said to be Compiled principally by M^r Galloway*; as I happen to have two of these I send you one frankt by the Post. M^r Galloway I understand openly inveighs against the ruling party in the Congress.

the Secretary of State for America has sent a Circular Letter, it seems, to the Governours letting them know that his Majesty was ready to receive any Petitions upon the score of Grievances, that should come from the respective Assemblies, which at least strongly implied that Congressional Petitions would not be so agreeable. The Gov^r. of this Province lately laid the Letter to him of that nature before the house of Assembly for their Information. This brought on a question whether the house would Petition the King or Parliament or not. M^r. Galloway was very strong in favour of the motion; however it was overuled. The Assembly tell the Gov^r. that they think the Petition preferred by the Congress is sufficient. In the Debate upon this Subject I am told Rivington† was somehow mentioned with a Sneer, perhaps Alluding to his being supposed to have been Employed by Galloway, upon which M^r. Galloway said, Rivington was an honour to his Country. I suppose no man in N England dares say so much. . . .

I find Fairfield County Com^{tees} talk the language of Patriots: are they really so, excepting the excepted, or not? Are Norwich people in general really & in Earnest Engaged to Stop all Ex: & im: &c? pray give me a gentle touch upon this head—and upon as many other heads as you can possibly croud into

* Joseph Galloway, a prominent lawyer of Philadelphia, who had long been Speaker of the Provincial Assembly, but now and henceforth an active Tory.

† James Rivington, an English bookseller, who came to America in 1760, in 1773 established a newspaper in New York, which remained the organ of the British until that city was evacuated.

your whole Sheet. Remember you place your lines at a great distance from one another.

Y^{rs}. &c

J: Ingersoll.

[To

Jonth: Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

Connecticut.]

Philadelphia March 25th. 1775

S^r

Your Aunt & I thank you kindly for your last—it was a feast of good things, and a plentiful repast. You are desired in your next to give some Account of Th: Wooster*; and here before I go farther and while I think of it I have to inform you that Jerrys last to me bears date the 22^d. of Decemb^r. at which time he had little to say on the Score of politicks, save only that he had received the proceedings of the Congress, which I sent him, that he had read the same with a mixture of surprize, hope, & fear, and that no body could know, until after the holidays, what measures would be persued toward America. . . .

Your Aunt thinks she cannot get along comfortably through the Summer without at least paying a Visit to her New Haven friends. You are therefore to Desire M^r. Shipman to lay in forty bushels of Oats as Usual & which you must pay for. I shall come with her or not according as business & other Circumstances will admit. I fancy I shall be able to tell pretty nearly how those matters will stand by the middle or latter end of May. Your Aunt is afraid you dont in a formal manner remember her to her Brother & his family, M^r. Whittelsey & his & to all our particular friends, so if you please you may go the rounds like a lister or Surveyer of highways & deliver the

* Thomas Wooster (Yale 1768), son of General David and Mary (Clap) Wooster (the latter being the child of a first cousin of the writer's wife), was a shopkeeper in New Haven.

Message in the most particular & polite manner; as you are an Ingersoll, I know it will be a most acceptable piece of Service to you.

I am &c

J: Ingersoll.

[To

Jonth. Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

Connecticut]

Philad^a: Aug^t. 1: 1775

S^r.

I Set down to write you a Letter, because M^r. Sherman your Neighbour is going home and because it would appear Strange not to Embrace so good an opportunity of writing to an old acquaintance, and yet I have nothing to say to you: hard! is it not? I at head Quarters where more great and important Steps are taken than perhaps were Ever taken by the National Council itself, and yet every thing Carried on so Secretly that we See and Know but in part, and the little we do know we dont think it best to communicate, or even to comment upon. Very hard this! for people who love News as well as Some Folks do.

You dont write your Aunt any more about the times with you. She thinks & talks a good deal about New Haven. As for me, I dont know what to tell you. I pretty much expect to hear soon from England such things as will render it very probable that this Country will be a troublesome one to live in, & yet foreseeing the evil, I do not hide myself or flee from it. I am Conscious of having done no wrong to my Country & so I am inclined to fear none from it. Add to this that my present Situation which is Easy, and my native love of ease, not to say my Laziness, keep me from taking any Steps to alter my Situation: at the same time I consider myself like a Saint of old, as a Pilgrim and Stranger in the Earth having no Abiding City.

Pray be so good as to write us a line informing how Mr. Whiting gets along, and how—Every body get along. In short

write all you can or may write & let us dream the rest. You certainly may tell us whether Mr. Daggett is married or not,* that being a Question that has been asked and answered for a great while in the best as well as the worst of times; and I cannot doubt but that you may inform of many more such matters which may appear to you to be trifling, but you may be assured that they are not so to us: for every thing that respects New Haven carries a kind of importance with it.

I would ask you how Dr. Johnson gets along if I dare, & whether Mr. Hillhouse dont think, all things considered, that the day of one's death is better than the day of one's birth. Tell him if a man will live righteously he must suffer some kind of persecution.

Present our Comp^s. to all friends.

I am &c

J. Ingersoll.

Jonth. Ingersoll, Esqr.

Philad^a. Oct. 7th. 1775

S^r

I duly received your favour of the first, and am glad to find that you & M^r Whiting are so far recovered from your late indisposition, & at the same time am Sensibly touched for M^r Hillhouses declining state of health.† In my opinion, whenever he dies, the world will lose a Valuable member of Society.

I am glad to be informed that M^r Shipman can continue in my house through the Winter without detriment to his affairs. I hope he will think of nothing else. In the meantime, he and you & I too will see who will offer to take his place next Spring, who will be agreeable. The same thing which you suggest with respect to the Gentleman I mentioned to M^r Shipman, occurred to me, but I hoped better things than to indulge the thought;

* President Naphthali Daggett (Yale 1748), of Yale College, had been a widower since March, 1772, but did not again marry.

† James Abraham Hillhouse (Yale 1749), an eminent citizen of New Haven, died four days before the date of this letter.

however I at this time pretty much give into his & your Sentiments about the matter. So we will think of some other less exceptionable person. Oh Shame to the times which oblige me to apply such an expression to so good a man!

I am not anxious about the political Character of the family who shall occupy the house, but you know I should not like to have it abused by the Tenant—and for many reasons shall not be willing to have the same stand Empty.

Who knows what next Spring may bring forth—perhaps I may Enjoy it myself—tho' Alas! the prospect is not very flattering.

I believe by the Accounts I have received we have had a more cool, and in that respect a more agreeable Summer here, than you have had nor has it been remarkably Sickly here. The next lies as yet in the womb of Unknowns.

I hope you are out in your guess about Sons Letter to you, as you have been quite misinformed with respect to me. I enjoy, thank Heaven, an undisturbed repose & have good reason to believe the same may Continue. Your Aunt joins in Comp^s. to all friends.

I am &c

J: Ingersoll.

[To

Jonth. Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

Connecticut.]

Philad^a. Decemb^r. 30th. 1775

S^r

I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 3^d. & also that of the 11th. p^r. M^r. Sherman. My last to you very much anticipates anything I have to say on the Score of Letting my house. Your Aunt will not incline to live with a family to whom she is an intire Stranger, if with any. I believe therefore that business must be left till the Spring.

poor M^r. Douglass!* what unexpected Attacks has death made of late in New Haven? I sometimes think all my old Acquaintance will be gone without my Seeing 'em again. Indeed how another Summer will dispose of us all, if living, is more than I can tell you. We had an agreeable day with Co^l. Hubbard† lately, & from him were able to get our fill of home intelligence; we thought we had askt him so many questions that none were omitted, but we have since found out that we overlookt some pretty material ones. Had it not been for him we should never have known that Sal: Sloan‡ was married; I suppose if her Aunt Peggy, or even Cous. Mabel Trowbridge should marry, you would not think it worth while to tell a body of it. Apropos of marrying, you intimate in your last, that was it Convenient you should be glad to marry yourself§ in order to accommodate your Aunt, and you bring the matter over again and tell us that you should be glad to marry on *other accounts also*. Now we are sadly put to it to guess what those other accounts are. . . .

go directly to Mess^s. Greens & stop my paper. I have never received it more than twice since the New Post was set up—and it failed very often before.

Money you say, you get none for me. This is hard when there is such a plenty of it Stirring, Especially in N England, where you do all the fighting, & consequently get all or most of the Cash. Jemmy Lockwood—(I beg Jemmys pardon) Major Lockwood,|| I suppose is by this time at least Deputy Gov^r. of Montreal; thus we see how little men may grow to be great ones.

I dont hear of your having rose above a Col^l. Yet—was it not for your ill fated name, I dont see why you might not

* Benjamin Douglas (Yale 1760) died in New Haven on December 3.

† Dr. Leverett Hubbard (Yale 1744) had been a Colonel in the Militia.

‡ Sarah Sloan, of New Haven, married James Gourlie on November 22, 1775.

§ Jonathan Ingersoll married Grace, daughter of Ralph Isaacs, in April, 1786. He abstained from taking any part in the Revolution.

|| James Lockwood, a classmate at Yale (1766) of Jonathan Ingersoll and Jared Ingersoll, Jr., and a shopkeeper in New Haven, had lately joined the Northern army in Canada.

expect soon to be a General—for I am told you are sufficiently orthodox, and Every body knows that you are not wanting in the Article of Courage, and that you have a very particular turn for the Labour & fatigues of a Military life. I should like to sit Perdu'e behind some tree, & see you Engage with a great, Brawny, whiskered Russian. . . .

I am

Y^{rs}. &c

J. Ingersoll.

[To

Jonth. Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

Connecticut.]

Philad^a. Feb: 20th 1776

S^r

I am obliged to Co^l. Wyllys for remembring me, to whom present my Comp^s. when you shall see him, & let him know, that the present are times which I believe neither he or I prayed for. Civil wars but ill agree with his natural turn or mine—our Characteristick prayer being “Lord give Us peace in our day.” But it seems we are to have Commissioners soon from England, to settle all these Disputes: and what think you, Shall we settle them or not? Some people will tell you that if we have *Common Sense** we shall not. If you ask my opinion I will give you a Cybeline Answer, which is, that we will Settle if we have a mind to, if not we wont; whether we shall Incline to a Settlement, or a total Separation, I will tell you after I know the Issue of the Conference. One thing however I will Venture to tell you before hand, which is that England will not leave to us to make our Election. I believe, whether we will Separate from them or not, so that I infer we shall Either have Universal peace within the Course of perhaps a few weeks.

* This powerful pamphlet by Thomas Paine, then of Philadelphia, first appeared on January 10, 1776.

or months at furthest, or a downright, bloody war. And now, I am thinking, if any one should take in hand to open this Letter, whether he would deem me Conjuror or Traytor for making such wonderful guesses. Mr. Babcock has given us great pleasure by an ample Account of Occurrences—some disagreeable & some Laughable. Oh! how I did run round the Chair & laugh, to hear the prayer that was not made at Town Meeting—Cum multis aliis.

We are waiting for the first of April to arrive—and yet we know that is an unlucky day: we wait for it, your Aunt at least, in hopes of being able about that time to set out for N. Haven. Should we be made April fools by finding ourselves all at full Liberty to go where we please—and a full pacification taken place, we will not regret having the Epithet applied to us.

it is a long time since we have heard from Son, owing, I suppose, to the times—all Communication between the two Countries being nearly cut off.

I am &c

J: Ingersoll.

And pray what has Mr Chandler done, that he should have a fit—he is neither a Glutton or Wine bibber nor yet Idle. I hope he is well again. Make my Comp^s. to him with my Congratulations for his recovery.

Receiving in your last another Goadings to Exercise, from the frequency of Apoplectick & other disorders I hastily ordered up the old horse & rode about two Miles to Mr. Hamiltons*—'twas pretty cold, so I got down & spent an hour with my old friend & then came home again. While I was unbooting I told your Aunt I hoped now, I should have no more of your hints & your rules about Exercise & temperance; that you knew I had left off drinking grog & Eating meat Suppers, & that I should take care to acquaint you with this Journey.

* James Hamilton, of Philadelphia, born 1710, died 1783, had repeatedly served as deputy-governor of the Province.

This Journey! says she, what, a ride of two miles ha! Well, but, says I, you know I rode more than twice as far last Oct^r.

Mar. 6. What shall be done with the Garden? if M^r. Shipman moves away I wish some one would take the Garden, plant it & have all the profits; whatever your Aunts family may want out of it shall be paid for. I doubt whether she will come to you as soon as we have talkt of. What can we say or think upon that head, when Every thing is so Unsettled, & when we at least hope Every thing may be Settled before very long.

J. I.

[To

Jonth: Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

Connecticut

p^r. favour of M^r. Babcock[#]]

Philad^a: Mar: 13th. 1776

S^r

I wrote you lately by M^r. Babcock, since which I have received yours of the 3^d. I just now learnt that M^r. Sherman sets out for N. Haven to morrow, so I just put pen to paper. . . . Cap^{ts}. Chew & Hughes, who called to see me two days ago, gave me some reason to believe that M^r. Shipman will not remove from N Haven very soon. It would give me pleasure to hear that he was not going, as I begin to suspect your Aunt will not get to you, so soon as we talkt of—and we know that he would take better care of the Garden and all that, than a certain other Gentleman, whom was it worth while I could name.

poor Doc. Whittelsey!† well; he cannot be recalled—all the kindness we can now shew him is to love & cherish his widow,

* "Mr. Babcock" was probably the Rev. Luke Babcock (Yale 1755), formerly of New Haven, but now of Philipsburgh (Yonkers). N. Y.

† Dr. Samuel Whittelsey (Yale 1764). of Milford, born 1745, died January 15, 1776.

He married Mary, daughter of Dr. Leverett Hubbard, of New Haven, and left to her his entire estate.

to whom he has been so liberal. We trust you will not be wanting in this particular—& we hope all is for the best.

You ask me several political questions, some of which I believe are of too delicate a nature for me to answer, was I able; however, M^r. Babcock will be able to inform you of Every thing that he knows; and I am very certain he knows to the full as much as I do. I will only tell you that the same guesses were early made here respecting the real Author of Common Sense, that you make. There is just published here an Answer to that performance called plain truth by Candidus—also a Course of Letters in the News papers signed, Cato. We have the same report also which you mention, respecting a certain Gentlemans going to Europe, but how well founded I will not say.

A Packet is arrived at N York by which I hope to receive a Letter from Son.

I am obliged to M^r. Darling for remembring me. The Scene begins to thicken. I think we shall have News Enough soon & I should be fully willing to canvas these Subjects a little in a litterary way—but you know how critical Letter writing is become.

I am &c

J : Ingersoll.

I perceive by the publick papers, they have Split the *old Sow* and Crackt the *Congress* near Boston.* I shall be glad to be informed whether these breaches are, by the people your way, thought to be irreparable.

[To

Jonth. Ingersoll Esq^r

at

N: Haven

p^r. favour of R. Sherman Esq^r.]

Philad^a. Ap^l. 4th 1776

S^r

I have at length Concluded to break up house Keeping at this place, carry my household goods to Burlington & transport

* The reference is to cannon used in the siege of Boston.

the family, at least all besides myself, to N. Haven, & all some time in the Course of the present Month.

Now S^r I have to desire of you to transmit to me full and particular Answers to the following Queries.

1 Does M^r. Shipman remove away from N: Haven or not; it will be very agreeable to me & to your Aunt to have him, or *you*, with a small family live in the house.

2 Will it be prudent or not for her to come up in the Chariot. Your Aunt wishes, for the Conveniency of it, to ride up in it, but does not think of keeping it in Use after getting there; she will be Content with one horse & some old riding Chair just to carry her now and then to the water side.*

3 May I come & live at N. Haven or may I not. It is not very likely to me that I shall ever again officiate in the office I hold, but I shall by all means Choose to draw the Salary until I shall be able to part with it upon some Composition with Government. By the late law of Connecticut a person, I think, forfeits his Estate by taking refuge on board a Man of War. I think it must be rather hard for a Man who owns an Estate in that Colony, not to be allowed to live on nor yet to leave it. I can live here without any kind of difficulty from the people, but you know it would be most convenient for me to be with the family. . . .

I am &c.

J: Ingersoll.

We have heard from Son as late as the 23^d. of Dec^r.

We send our goods up to Burlington as I said, about 20 Miles, with M^r Reeds who moves to that place. When he will get away he cannot tell exactly. So, of course, I cannot tell you just when we shall move. Further we expect M^r. Webster & a daughter of his, will go to New England & Escort your Aunt, in case I dont go with her myself, which is the reason

* Mrs. Ingersoll died in New Haven on October 8. 1779, aged 66 years; and her husband was again married, about three months later, to Hannah (Miles), widow of Enos Alling (Yale 1746), of New Haven. She was eleven years his junior, and survived him.

why I have not called on you or M^r. Shipman, for that purpose. If that plan shall fall through, I may yet write you, to meet us at least as far as Paulies hook ferry,* N: York.

I hope the needfull will, by some means, be done to the Garden.

[To

Jonth: Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

Connecticut.]

Philad^a. April 13th. 1776

S^r

I duly received your favour p^r. M^r. Sherman & am glad to find that M^r. Shipman thinks of tarrying still at N Haven.

M^r. Sherman, who by the way talks of taking my house here, furniture & all, for the Summer, tells me, as do Co^l. Dyer & others, that they think I may go to N. Haven without difficulty. I hope to hear you more fully on this head in a few days.† In the meantime, know that people here generally say Doc^r. Smith is the Author of *Cato*—& that some one in Jersey, I dont know who, wrote *Plain Truth*.‡ There is a M^r. Wells of this place also, said to be the author of certain pieces on the same Side with *Cato*—one piece last week signed R, on the same Side is

* Jersey City.

† The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania issued on August 4, 1777, a warrant for the arrest of Judge Ingersoll, and for his being held on his parole in Winchester, Virginia, or (at his option) in Hartford, Connecticut. Four days later they advised him to remain in Philadelphia for a few weeks longer. On September 4 they directed him to depart to Connecticut, which he did.

His son returned from Europe early in 1778, after about five years' absence, and settled in Philadelphia.

‡ It is now believed that the Rev. Dr. William Smith was the author of *Plain Truth*; a series of *Letters to the People of Pennsylvania*, signed Cato, which appeared in *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet*, in March and April, 1776, are here referred to as also his.

The article signed R. appeared in the issue of the same paper for April 8.

The articles addressed to Cato by Cassandra appeared in the same paper for March and April.

supposed to have been wrote by the Pensilvania Farmer. This Gentleman, I suppose you know, is warmly for a Reconciliation & of course opposed in that particular to Messrs Adams's & Others. I may not add at this only that I have this day Delivered to your M^r. Austin a number of Articles to forward to New Haven. We shall hardly get away under two or three weeks.

I am &c

J: Ingersoll.

Doc^r. Rush it is said writes Cassandra, ag^t. Cato; tis not unlikely that several other persons have a hand in it as in writing Common Sense.

[To

Jonth: Ingersoll Esq^r.

at

N: Haven

p^r. favour of M^r. Austin]

LETTER TO DR. BENJAMIN GALE.

New Haven Octo^r. 30th. 1779.*

Dear Sir

I duly received your favour of the 28th two days ago, and soon after that, the Manuscripts. I have gone through the first number & shall take care to send it to you, agreeable to your desire, by the very first opportunity.

I do assure you I read this first N^o. with great avidity—with much pleasure; but not without some pain. When I found you promising not to be intimidated by Councils, or influenced by popular names, I gave you full Credit from my knowledge

* The latest known product of Mr. Ingersoll's pen is a series of eight letters, written between October, 1779, and May, 1781, to his old friend, Dr. Benjamin Gale, on the subject of the Scripture prophecies: the first (and briefest) of these is here given, from a copy in his own hand, preserved in the Yale University Library, by way of specimen.

Mr. Ingersoll's comparative sanity of judgment appears in refreshing contrast to Dr. Gale's wild and prejudiced assumptions.

of the Man, and when I found you advancing as a general principle, that we ought to look for a literal fulfilment of prophecies—urging that a Spiritual, mystical Accomplishment, not warranted by the common and usual import of the words, was no Accomplishment at all, as carrying no kind of proof with it, I was highly delighted. I went forward—read your account of the Creation—Clever, said I, *plain simple narration of facts—no room to imagine a thousand hidden mysteries*—right. Then come the Story of the Judgment denounced on the first pair and upon the Serpent. Notice is taken of the plain & obvious import of the words “that the Serpent was more Subtil than the other beasts”—the probability that he could talk—the probable Alteration in his Shape &c all arising from the literal meaning of the words made use of. Notice is also taken of the well known general Antipathy to Snakes, on the part of man; it is also very well known that men often kill the Snake by Stamping on the head with the heel and that the Snake in his turn sometimes gets a Chance to bite the Man in the same part. This is all very well, thinks I—and when I further found that Adams Sin was personal—the Soul probably material tho’ immortal—and Christ the first of all Creatures, why; where is the Doctor going, said I; instead of quarreling with him for Servilely treading the ground beaten by Schoolmen, I shall for ever admire him as a kind of original, who dared to think for himself, and to speak what he thought: but how were all my Joys & flattering hopes Chilled, when I found that this same good Doctor had discovered the Devil & the Messiah, in the plain simple Story of Adam and the Snake!

I took of my Spectacles—hung them gently across my left little finger—threw myself back in my Chair, and Exclaimed, Oh Doctor, Doctor! Physician heal thyself.

After recovering a little from my Surprise, I had recourse to my bible—I turned to the sad Story of Adams fall, and read it all over again, as I had done before a great many times; I peeped for the Devil, and look’t hard to see if I could discern the least glimpse of his glorious Counterpart, but could see nothing that look’t like Either.

how have I known people in a Delirium, with Eager Eyes, and Anxious looks, point to some part of the room & cry out—there—there is such a thing or such a Person—do you not see it, why there it is, right before you—and after all I could say to them, I could not convince them that there was no such thing as they thought they saw—nor could they convince me that there was. But why should we be angry at one another for Seeing, or not Seeing, what we cannot help Seeing, or cannot See at all? I am resolved I will not—and now to proceed.

I hope, from what I have seen of your general plan, that I shall find myself placed, where I have often placed myself, in the Situation of an honest Jew or Gentile, with the old Testament in his hand, at the time when our Saviour came into the world—hearing his pretensions & that of some others, such as Theudas & Judas mentioned in the fifth Chapter of the Acts, and Examining with the utmost Care the Several Claims, to See which of them, or whether Either, were warranted and supported by those Scriptures. Such person would, you know, have to throw out of his way a deal of learned lumber, compiled by Hebrew Doctors, before he could come at the naked text, and had he been bred a Jew, he would find by much the hardest task would be to divest himself intirely of all preconceived Opinion; but this both he & I ought to do, to the best of our power.

here then I will stand, Jew or Gentile which you please, and with the truest Satisfaction will follow you, through all the Mazes of that Miscelanous Book, & will Examin with the greatest freedom and at the same time with the utmost Candour, the important question, what is the real Character, office and business of that Personage commonly called the Messiah, as described in the old Testament.

your first prediction, I have already taken some notice of. *It* (that is the Seed of the woman) *Shall bruise thy* (i. e. the Serpents) *head and thou shalt bruise his heel.* You tell me this intimates the future appearance of a great Personage who shall set a Church in the world, and wage a long war with the Devil

& all that: to this I can only say that I, poor Jew, or Gentile, can discover nothing at all of any Such thing.

You next urge the declaration made to Abraham Gen: xii. and xxii. and in several other places "that in him and in his Seed, all the nations—and Sometimes it is said, all the families of the Earth shall be blessed."

Jew—I see nothing particular in this; it appears that God had repeatedly declared that Abraham & his posterity (by the way the word *Seed* is nomen Collectivum like the word Cask, and may be used either singularly or plurally) should possess the land of Canaan—that they should be a great and powerfull Nation, able to give the Law to other Nations—or as it is said, "*Shall possess the gate of his Enemies.*" and that the other Nations should be happy to be under their wing & protection. I see nothing mysterious in this matter, nor any thing that relates to what you call the Messiah—that word, you know, signifieth a Crowned head. I am informed by this book that Abraham's posterity after many disappointments did get possession of this same Country, and am only puzzled to account for it, consistently with other declarations, that they so soon lose that possession.

You next quote Deut: xviii. where God saith, "I will raise them (the Children of Israel) up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee," Moses.

Jew—Well, and what then? it is abundantly Evident from many after passages in the book of Deut^y that the Successor of Moses alluded to in that declaration, was Joshua, who took the Command upon the death of Moses, and conducted the Israelites into Palestine. I cannot see any thing here about a Messiah.

these I think are all the proofs you bring from the five books of Moses so called. Your next is taken from Isaiah, many a hundred years after the Creation & fall of Man; but let us hear what Isaiah saith Chap: vii. "behold a Virgin shall Conceive & bear a Son and shall call his name immanuel." I will here give you the Answer which a learned Jew actually gave me many years ago, upon my Urging this text upon him.

Jew—the whole of this Story as related in this and the Succeeding Chapter, appears to be as follows.

Jerusalem was invaded by two Nations of Enemies. Ahaz the King was fearfull of the Consequences. Isaiah the Prophet assures him that he shall not be Conquered by them, & in Evidence of his declaration gives him this Sign or proof—that a Virgin shall have a Child—that his name shall be immanuel (by the way Christs name was Jesus) that this Child should be fed upon butter & honey—and that before he should arrive to years of discretion and know the difference between Moral good & Evil, the Country of these his Enemies should be forsaken—that this same Prophet went & lay with a Prophetess (who must have been a Maiden). She had a Child—his name is Ma-her-Sha-lal-hash-baz, and before this Child shall be old enough to begin to talk—to say Papa & Mama, the two Enemy Nations shall become desolate. Now whether these two names have or have not similar meanings—and whether it was strictly proper to call a young womans first child, the child of a Virgin, as we say a heifer calf, and whether the Event turned up agreeable to the predietion, we are not now Concerned to know; it is Enough that we do know that the point & design of the prophecy was to have an Event happen that should be proof to King Ahaz of what the Prophet had said—and this must have happened then, at that time, in the Course of a few years at furthest—nor is here the least hint that this Child should be a King either temporal or Spiritual, nothing that looks like a Messiah in the whole Story. When you have recourse therefore to this passage in Isaiah in proof of this or that Person claiming to be the Messiah, it is by no means fair to tell me that Isaiah said, A Virgin should have a Child, & say no more; you ought to repeat the two following Verses at least & tell me that Isaiah further said that before that Child should know to refuse the Evil & Choose the good, the land that Ahaz abhorred should be forsaken of both her Kings. I will not insist, said the Jew, on the difficulty of my being able to know whether this reputed Child of Joseph was differenced from his other Children in the manner of his Conception, or not.

We are now come to a period in the Jewish history, when mention is made of an Expectation that some Extraordinary Person should arise who should retrieve their affairs and reform the people; this period is the time of the Babylonish Captivity.

but before I go into a Consideration of the passages relating to this matter it will be proper to take a Summary View of the State of the Jewish Nation at that time. Before I enter upon this I will give you & myself a little respite and will then resume the argument, after which you shall hear from me again.

in the mean time, I remain

Your obed^t. humb^e. Serv^t.

J: I.

To Benjⁿ. Gale Esq^r.

Copy

LETTER OF JARED INGERSOLL, JUNIOR.

Philadelphia Sept^r [missing]

D^r. Sir,

I have received your's & M^r. Whittleseys favours, giving me the Account of the Death of the best of Fathers. At any time, the loss would have been very severe; particular Circumstances concurred to render it additionally so, & to occasion my suffering with the most particular Sensibility; will explain myself in a future Letter. At present I am not sufficiently composed. present my most affectionate Compliments to my good Mother. I feel almost as much for her as for myself. assure her that she may rely upon the first moment I can, I will come up & pay my Respects to her—by the middle of next month at the farthest.

I am D^r. Sir your very afflicted friend
J. Ingersoll.

P.S. My thanks to my Uncle Whittlesey for his Attention to me.—J. I.

[Jonⁿ. Ingersoll Esq^r

New-haven]

EPITAPH

in the Crypt of the First Church, New Haven

In Memory of
The Hon^{ble} JARED INGERSOLL Esq.
Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty
in the Middle District
in America.

A man of an uncommon Genius,
which was cultivated
By a liberal Education at Yale College,
And improved by the Study of Mankind,
And of Laws, Policy and Government,
He distinguished himself at the Bar,
Where his perspicuity and Energy in Reasoning
And Equality in Conducting Causes,
Elevated him

To the First Eminence in his Profession.
Under the appointment of the General Assembly

He was twice honoured
With the AGENCY from CONNECTICUT
At the Court of Great Britain.
His Morals were unblemished.

He was thoughtful, collected and sagacious,
open and sincere,
mild, affable, and courteous.

Adapting himself to all
By a rich Variety of sentiment and Expression
Yet preserving in his whole Behavior
A graceful and majestic Dignity.

He died Aug. 25th A.D. 1781

Ætat. 60.

By his side lieth also interred,
His amiable Consort

M^{rs} HANNAH INGERSOLL
Who departed this Life

Oct 9th A.D. 1779

Aged 66 Years.

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